

PEACE NEWS

No. 91

London: March 12, 1938

2d.

Glasgow Convention Today

Great Send-off for P.P.U. Manifesto

From Our Own Correspondent

THE Peace Pledge Union's Manifesto will be put as an emergency resolution at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group Convention to be held in the MacLellan Galleries, Glasgow, today.

It will be moved by the Rev. Ernest Foster, chairman of the Glasgow branch of the PPU, and seconded by Mr. William Niven, organizer of the Study Circle and a member of the committee of the branch.

A capacity attendance is assured for the convention, to which delegates are known to be coming from as far north as Fort William and Aberdeen, and from as far south as Cardiff and Coventry.

Speakers will include Mr. Lansbury, Miss Mary Gamble, the Rev. James Barr, the Rev. A. C. Craig, Dr. R. H. Thouless, Mr. C. H. Wilson, and Mr. J. H. Hudson. Mr. Emrys Hughes, editor of *Forward*, and formerly Provost of Cumnock, will be in the chair. Two sessions will be held: from 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m., and 6 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

At the request of Mr. Lansbury the first resolution, which consists of a broad statement of the pacifist attitude, will be spoken to by two of the younger members of the Scottish pacifist movement, as well as by the official mover and seconder.

The two will be Mr. Andrew Stewart, secretary of the Glasgow branch of the PPU, and Mr. Henry A. Barter, literature secretary of the branch.

The convention hall is situated in Glasgow's busiest thoroughfare, Sauchiehall Street, and the opportunity thus provided for large scale publicity is to be fully exploited. The street will be paraded before and during the Convention by squads of poster-bearers and literature distributors, and PEACE NEWS will be sold at convenient points.

Black-out Demonstration

The Glasgow branch of the PPU staged a successful demonstration against the recent black-out in the northern and eastern districts of the city.

On the eve of the black-out half a dozen poster parades were held, all the main streets in the district being traversed. Open-air meetings, which attracted large and interested audiences, were held during the whole course of the evening at Bridgeton Cross and Parkhead Cross, the two main focal points of the area.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed

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PEACE PLEDGE UNION'S NEW MANIFESTO

Basis of Great National Campaign

NEED FOR A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

A NEW step forward in the progress of the Peace Pledge Union is marked by the issue of a manifesto which will be officially adopted by the Sponsors of the Union at their meeting on Monday, as also will the plan of a nation-wide campaign based upon the manifesto itself.

Following is the text of the manifesto, subject to minor adjustments in wording:—

"The Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge 'We renounce war and will never support or sanction another' makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

"The Great War to crush militarism

Austria's "Cenotaph Incident"

From Our Own Correspondent

VIENNA, Monday.

IN the main street of the Austrian capital there happened an affair peculiarly like your Cenotaph incident of last Armistice Day.

A man of middle age smashed the windows of the Gasraid-Protective Association, a Governmental institution, in Kaerntner Street.

Those standing around him stated that he continually shouted: "Down with war!" The matter caused a great disturbance of traffic, until the man could be arrested.

At the police station it was ascertained that his name was Karl Freund. The police decided to transfer him to the lunatic asylum.

Strange how the "insanity" of the man manifested itself in such logical fashion, in view of the fraud of the military gas-protective methods.



Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow's busiest thoroughfare, where is situated the MacLellan Galleries, scene of today's convention.

and the case for pacifism brought before the inhabitants of one of Glasgow's most densely populated districts.

It is worthy of note that of all the posters carried, that entitled "War's New Target," showing a woman bearing a child in her arms, provoked the most widespread comment.

The black-out demonstration was the Glasgow branch's first effort at open-air propaganda, and it proved a stimulating experience to all who participated. Others are planned.

OTHER ACTIVITY

Pacifist activity has been greatly stimulated in Buchhaven and East Kilbride by meetings held under the auspices of the local groups. Mrs. Sybil White, of Kilmarnock, and Mr. Andrew Stewart were among the speakers at the former meeting. The latter was addressed by the Rev. Ernest Foster and Mr. Stewart.

The Glasgow University branch of the PPU have approached the Rev. George F. Macleod, of Govan, to be their candidate in the forthcoming Rectorial election at the University, to choose a successor to Dick Sheppard.

and to end war led to the pitiful and desperate world of today. Just as it is impossible to end war by war, so today it is morally and materially impossible to defend national democracy against fascism by war. Democracy itself must perish in that process.

"The defence of democracy against fascism by war means that the workers of one country are to engage in the massacre of the workers of another country. In order to contend with fascism by arms, a democracy must surrender itself to totalitarian regimentation.

"Fascism flourishes because of the belief that in the world as it is violence is the only means by which the intolerable injustices under which nations suffer can be redressed. The ringed fence of arms which the democratic nations provide against fascism encourages it in its evil ways.

"Fascism is thus fed and strengthened by every effort to quarantine it—to have no truck with it."

"We therefore appeal to our fellow citizens who have any concern for peace and democracy to consider the claim of constructive pacifism."

NEW FOREIGN POLICY NEEDED

"Pacifism is not merely a refusal to take part in war. The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

"We welcome the growing recognition that the policy of 'collective security' is now impracticable. Our own increasing military power involves a competitive race in armaments, military alliances, and inevitable war. We are left with the choice between this and a policy of complete and constructive pacifism.

"The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of an acceptable League of Nations.

"The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

"The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

"Here is the essence of real collective security.

"Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his Government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

VAN ZEELAND REPORT

"The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the Governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

"When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations and safeguard the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

"We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge, and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

"We pledge ourselves to take no part whatever in war, and to concentrate all our energies upon positive peace-making."

(Continued on page 2.)

(Continued from Col. 4, Page 1)
**BROUGHT BEFORE
 PARLIAMENT**

The manifesto was unofficially "inaugurated" by one of the Sponsors, George Lansbury, in his speech on Monday in the House of Commons on the White Paper on Defence (reported in "Parliamentary Notes," page fifteen).

Mr. Lansbury had joined with four other pacifist MPs (Messrs. Cecil Wilson, H. G. McGhee, Dr. Alfred Salter, and the Rev. R. Sorensen) in putting down an amendment asking the House to declare that:

This House, being of opinion that peace and security cannot be obtained through armaments, violence or war, declines to approve the Government's defence proposals.

Mr. Lansbury spoke, in effect, to this amendment, although it had not been called by the Speaker.

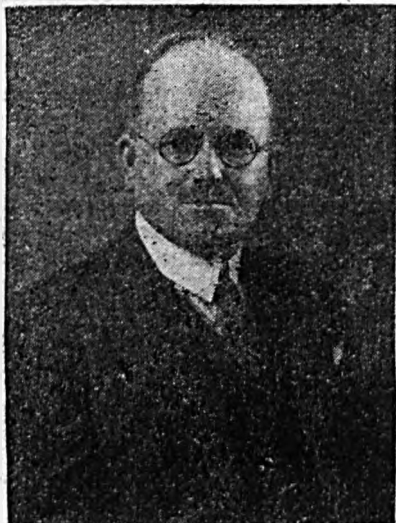
Most Important Thing Since the Pledge

SPEAKING as a Sponsor of the PPU, and also as chairman of the organizing committee of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, James H. Hudson described the manifesto to PEACE NEWS as "quite the most important thing we have done since Dick Sheppard persuaded us to take his pledge."

"The groups of the PPU," he said, "have given time and consideration to the positive activities which the pledge calls for. Already much has been attempted and done. But on the whole, such work as the groups embarked upon was already in process of accomplishment or experiment by other organizations with which pacifists were associated."

"Nevertheless our steps in the political field were marked by uncertainty. In that field no one can do our job but the pacifists. Some of our members were by temperament or conviction unwilling to touch politics at all. Others already associated with various political movements preferred to find within the ranks of the PPU rest from the political controversies which troubled them elsewhere."

"Yet the plain fact stands that if ever the moment arrives when we



James H. Hudson

must say the tremendous 'No' which our pledge involves, the war we shall then confront will be due entirely to the doings or the misdoings of politics and politicians."

"As one who said 'No' last time, I never escape the uncomfortable feeling that if the time comes to say it again—as it must be said, if war comes—we shall have failed, for the time being in our object."

"To me it is far more important to get politicians and people now to understand the nature of our constructive positive pacifist proposals than to wait for the destruction and chaos which will inevitably arise out of their policy and in which our 'No' could have no more influence than a whisper in a hurricane."

"It is not only the governments of Europe, but also the oppositions in the democratic countries which bear a special responsibility for the present situation."

"In our country, the theories of collective security, as propounded by the LNU, the Liberal and the Labour Parties on the one hand, and on the other the blind unreasoning demand for no truck with the Fascist States as expressed by the communists, the Left Book Club, and the so-called United Front were carrying their respective supporters at express speed toward war."

"By comparison, the Government,

THE NEW "PEACE NEWS"

BY LETTER, postcard, and even by telegram readers' opinions of the new PEACE NEWS have been pouring into the editorial office.

All of them welcome the paper in its new shape and size which, they realize, mean that it is now definitely established as a newspaper.

The welcome comes from representatives of all types among our readers, from old and young, from pacifist and non-pacifist, from peer and from one who writes as a fellow journalist.

Some of them remember when PEACE NEWS was smaller in size and had only half its present number of pages. They, in particular, know what it means to the cause of peace that it should have grown so much in the space of less than two years.

IT SELLS WELL

Other good friends of the only peace newspaper have been making special efforts to bring it to the notice of a still wider public.

In Glasgow, four sellers sold eight dozen copies within three hours in and near the hall where to day's pacifist convention is being held. Manchester, too, reports success in its efforts to increase sales, while in Wimbledon pacifists have advertised the bigger and better paper in the local press.

The slogan "Bigger and Better" was also carried on some of the sandwich-boards on the Peace Pledge Union poster parade, led by George Lansbury through the West End of London on Saturday last. Here, too, the improved paper found a ready sale, 130 copies having been bought.

This week-end will see a continuation of the activity planned by PPU groups to take PEACE NEWS to an ever-widening public.

(Continued from Col. 1)

though travelling to the same place, was proceeding quite leisurely.

"Perhaps the saddest thing about the hatred, exclusiveness, and national self-righteousness which underlay the claims for coercive settlements was the way it captured fine young idealists who were inveigled into the International Peace Campaign and kindred movements. For the most part the horrible experiences of the last war never came into their lives and the chivalry of those who fight in Spain sheds for a time, but only for a time, a glamour over the beastliness and the utter futility of the carnage."

"Disillusionment arrives both for the Left and the LNU. Many are now faltering for the want of guidance. There never was such an opportunity for preaching the practical character of our message. We can, if we will, give a new meaning and purpose to political striving for international appeasement."

"That is why the PPU Manifesto is so important."

WHAT GROUPS CAN DO

"What can the PPU groups do about it?" Mr. Hudson was asked.

"Shortly, headquarters will issue precise instructions about a great new campaign," he replied. "At least, I hope and expect they will."

"There will be new pamphlets, new meetings, new conferences and conventions in cooperation with the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, new study groups, new PEACE NEWS poster parades, new PEACE NEWS readers, new marches on London and in the Provinces."

"There will be a grand new drive for new members—many new members on the basis of the Manifesto and the PPU claim to have a practical alternative peace policy to the present war policy of all the political parties."

"All this means much preparation. But we must hasten. Time presses and war threatens. So until the instructions arrive, make it a soldier's battle."

"Question them at their political meetings. Do they mean peace or do they mean war?"

"Push PEACE NEWS at them when they go in. Push it at them when they come out. Don't humbug yourself about all that the warmakers and you have in common. You know what it is that makes their doctrines utterly mischievous."

"You are out to fight and prevent war and that matters more than all else put together."

Public Affairs

Four-Power Pact

THE significance of the simultaneous talks with Germany and Italy is that the British Government is trying a new tack in foreign policy.

They are hoping ultimately to achieve a four-Power pact between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. If this is achieved, it will be claimed as a great diplomatic success, and will be followed by a small measure of disarmament and a general election.

The Opposition will then appear as the Party which would have made war if it had been in power, and the National Government will be elected with a large majority, as the incarnation of Peace on Earth.

What will happen after that is another story.

Anglo-Italian Fog

PREPARATIONS for the Anglo-Italian talks which have now started in Rome have been shrouded in more than usual darkness. The press department of the Foreign Office has declined to supply journalists with any definite information as to the agenda for the discussions.

The Press Department, which is the only official link between the Foreign Office and the public, has at least two regular conferences a day at which the accredited journalists of the large papers and agencies ask many questions and receive few replies.

A great deal of newspaper information comes, however, from unofficial sources; the news, for instance, of Eden's resignation which appeared in the Sunday newspapers was certainly conveyed by someone who knew Cabinet secrets.

The Subject of the Talks

THE subjects for discussion will probably centre round Abyssinia and the Mediterranean.

Ever since Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, Great Britain has been anxious to secure the demilitarization of Abyssinian frontiers with Kenya and the Sudan, and in securing guarantees about the sources of the Nile. But an even greater concern to her is the maintenance of the trade routes through the Mediterranean and the Suez.

Control of the Mediterranean is one of the principal objectives of Italian strategy. The establishment of new naval bases in Libya and the Red Sea has considerably strengthened her position.

The distance between Tripoli and Syracuse is only 270 miles, and between Leros and Tobruk about 320 miles.

Both Leros, the naval base of the Dodecanese islands, and Tobruk are within striking distance of Alexandria and Cyprus, both of which are emergency British bases.

Control of the Suez

ITALY, on the other hand, is playing for position over the Suez Canal.

Although the Italian Minister in Cairo recently denied that Italy wanted a share in the defence of the canal, there is no doubt that she would like a reduction of the charges on the shipping passing through it. To this end Italy is anxious to get some of the vacant seats on the directorate of the Suez Canal Company.

Egypt, however, also wants increased control, largely for the sake of the revenue from the canal; in any case, she will get it automatically in thirty years' time, and she hopes by then to be in a position to defend it with her own forces.

Anglo-German Talks

THE discussions between Great Britain and Germany are at present only in the tentative stage.

Germany regards the colonial question as entirely separate; her final objective is the return of her former colonies, and this she regards as a matter of justice, and not a subject for bargaining.

Commentary

Apart from the colonial question, there are two obstacles to be overcome before anything definite can be settled.

The first is Germany's attitude toward the League. Dr. Halfield, the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, recently outlined certain "axioms" of German policy, one of which was the impossibility of a return to the League. Germany is naturally very conscious of the origin of the League, and regards it as an instrument for the perpetuation of an unjust Peace Treaty.

The second difficulty is the attitude of certain sections of the British press, about which the German Government feels very touchy. Germany will probably suggest some sort of unofficial press armistice, and if the British Government agrees to it, they will be in a position to exercise considerable pressure on newspapers printing articles which will not be acceptable in Germany.

But press attacks on Germany will only cease when certain sections of the public relinquish their present bellicose anti-German attitude. Newspapers, like other business concerns, only cater for public demands.

The Cadman Report

THE report of the Committee of Inquiry into Civil Aviation which was issued on Tuesday is the culmination of a long series of backstairs intrigue.

It has been noticeable for a long time that British air services are far behind French and German services, both in speed and efficiency. The London-Paris service of Imperial Airways is an international joke, using as it does the obsolete Heracles planes with a cruising speed of 95 m.p.h.

Discontent was brought to a head on November 17 when a debate was held in the House on a motion by Mr. Perkins, who asked for a public inquiry "to review the present situation of civil aviation and make recommendations." The motion was supported from all sides, but when the personnel was announced, objections were raised and two members retired.

The Committee then consisted of Lord Cadman, head of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Sir Frederick Marquis, director of Martin's Bank and one of the Government's advisers on Special Areas, Mr. T. Harrison Hughes, chairman of the London Committee of the Suez Canal Company, and Mr. G. W. Bowen, also an adviser on Special Areas. The Committee held its inquiry in private.

The report contains strong criticisms both of the Air Ministry and of Imperial Airways. The most important recommendation is that the subsidy to Imperial Airways should be increased to £3,000,000 a year, and that the company should operate exclusively on imperial routes.

Continental routes are to be operated by British Airways Ltd., and a special organization is to be formed from existing companies to run the London-Paris route. The significance of the report is the emphasis on imperial routes, which links up with the Government policy of isolation from Europe and development of the Empire as a closed unit.

Planes for China

SHIPMENTS of American aircraft to China have increased enormously in the past two months.

The America Neutrality Acts prevent their direct shipment to China, so the planes are sent to England, landed, re-loaded, and sent on to Hong Kong. A new company, with offices in St. Mary Axe, has been formed solely to act as intermediary for these shipments.

In the last two months, insurances totalling over \$2,000,000, have been effected with Lloyds' underwriters, covering aircraft and aircraft material shipped from this country to Hong Kong.

Steamers, which have carried these cargoes have included s.s. Bengloe, Benavon, Rhexeror, and City of Evansville.

FASCISM COMES THE DAY WAR IS DECLARED

Warning against Dangers of U.S. Policy

From Our Own Correspondent

NEW YORK.

"WE go fascist the day we go to war," declared Frederick J. Libby, director of the American National Council for the Prevention of War, at a conference of pacifists held here on George Washington's birthday.

Such a dictatorship could not cease, he continued, until six months after the President had declared the emergency (not war) closed. When would a dictator in power declare that? Depression and chaos would follow, with the end of freedom and democracy.

"That's what you get when you go into war."

He felt that the Neutrality Bill best expressed the will of seventy percent of the people, who were either pacifists or isolationists. But the President was neither, and used incidents to build up a sentiment for the armament race and a huge navy. The Panay incident was thus exploited.

The President's Chicago speech, with its urge to "quarantine the aggressor," had been taken up by the curious conjunction of the communists and Wall Street.

WARNING TO BRITAIN

American policy should be to stay out, continued Mr. Libby. "We must show Great Britain that if she fights we will not fight with her, she must fight alone. Say to her, 'Settle by peaceful means. We're not going to fight for you.'"

Among practical methods, he urged the efforts to work through Congress for the passage of a referendum to the people of all foreign wars, and urged that that would be a great educational action, and would do much good. "Legislation is the hook on which you hold the education of the people," and the referendum is not a panacea, but "one more defence against war."

"By following the methods of the politicians, we could put over such a referendum in four days," he claimed.

BUILDING A PACIFIST MOVEMENT

Mr. Libby showed how American economic policy made life hard for all the poor nations of the world, of whom Germany and Japan were merely spokesmen. There should be a permanent Committee of Grievances in Geneva. He discussed the President's wish for what he called a "super-navy," to be a big stick for him to swing.

If this was opposed successfully, the President might realize that "we do not support his efforts to produce peace by force."

At another session, two officials in the Fellowship of Reconciliation spoke on

building an effective pacifist movement. Among other things they said:

Training for peace involves not a hardening process but a sensitizing process for human beings.

Nobody should be ready to be a pacifist unless he is ready to be shot for his beliefs. It is our basic obligation to continue and accelerate the recruiting of pacifists during war.

We must be prepared to lose our own jobs during war, and should organize in small groups to meet this problem by: Subsistence, farming, cooperative living, etc.

Building an effective pacifist movement requires developing small germinal pacifist groups, together with mass recruiting.

At a large evening meeting, the speakers were religious leaders, one a Protestant minister, one a Catholic, and the last a Jewish Rabbi.

Expert Training in Peace Issues

Vital questions of peace and war will be discussed by experts from America and other countries in eleven Institutes of International Relations, which the American Friends Service Committee and other organizations are planning for June and July.

These institutes are located so that people in any part of the U.S.A. can reach one easily and cheaply.

Many organizations are arranging to send their presidents or other officials, and two prizes to attend an institute have been offered to winners of a national peace poster competition.

Churches Against President's Policy

A resolution disapproving President Roosevelt's increase in naval and military budgets has been adopted by the executive committee of the American Federal Council of Churches.

It was also reported that a delegation from the council would present the views of the churches to the President.

Copies, in pamphlet form, of the speech in which Mr. Lansbury outlined the case for economic cooperation to the Kulturbund of Vienna can be obtained, price 24d. post free, from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.



A practical example of cooperation between people from different nations is provided by this work camp at Marienthal, in Austria, where young people of various nationalities tackle tasks which will benefit the group. During 1937, for instance, there were 67 workers from abroad in the camp. Some of these were from England and it is expected that parties from this country will again proceed to Marienthal. Particulars may be obtained from Owen R. Page, 16, Upper Long Leys Road, Lincoln.

Tribute to Ossietzky



A TRIBUTE to Carl von Ossietzky, the German pacifist who not long ago was released from a concentration camp and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935, was paid by a German secret police officer last week.

At the trial of the Berlin lawyer charged with embezzling the peace prize money the officer declared:

We have found all along that Ossietzky is a man of fine character and an idealist, who never changed his opinions to court favours.

Iceland's Part in Peace Movement

From a Correspondent

IN December last a section was formed in Iceland of the Scandinavian Association for International Cooperation.

A prominent journalist in Reykjavik, Mr. Gudlaugur Rosinkranz, was elected President, and among the members are the Foreign Affairs Minister and the leader of the temperance movement.

In the current issue of *Mellanflokkið Samarbete*, the monthly organ of the Association, Mr. Rosinkranz outlines as follows the position of Iceland in the peace movement:

It is true that we Icelanders are few, but by associating ourselves with those nations which wish and work for peace, we can show that we wish to contribute all in our power to ensure peace. We cannot offer any military forces with which to enforce peace, but we can give our moral support.

In the long run peace can never be maintained by armed power. Man's thought, his conceptions of morality and justice, must develop and change fundamentally in order that peace can reign permanently between nations.

There was a time in Iceland when it was thought natural that disputes should be settled man to man with sword in hand, but we left that stage behind about 700 years ago. Our conception of morality makes it impossible for us to believe that the natural way to settle international affairs is by the mass murder of innocent men and women.

Scandinavian Competition

From a Correspondent

Prizes to the value of over £1,000 are being offered in connexion with a competition organized by the Förening Nordens, an association with sections in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland.

The object of the competition is to try to find new ideas for the development of cooperation between the Scandinavian countries, primarily in the economic sphere.

Prizes will be given in each of the five countries concerned for the best short essays dealing with specific proposals for developing to the best advantage possibilities for cooperation between the countries. The closing date for the submission of entries is April 1.

Japan's Case Distorted in the Press

From Our Own Correspondent

THE Japanese case is not being placed before the public of New Zealand.

Whereas the case for China is in heavy type and headlined, never is this done with that of Japan. The reader must seek for any presentation of that side in an obscure part of the paper—if at all.

An article in one of our dailies the other day, purporting to be a comprehensive review of the Far Eastern situation, stated that Japan commenced the war with China "because one of her soldiers had been killed."

The New Zealand press is just as anti-pacifist as the British. For instance, when Dick Sheppard died, the *Wellington Evening Post* (the only evening newspaper in the capital city) published an obituary notice which stopped short at 1931.

A member of the Christian Pacifist Society, however, sent some material to the paper in question, which published his note (without reference to its source) on a main page, immediately under a further reference to Canon Sheppard's death.

[The New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society which was formed nearly two years ago, now has a membership of 205 covenanted to promote peace and prevent war, and never to participate in war, or war preparations—including non-combatant service, if under military control.]

Support for French War Resister

Although most of the French press is still silent over the action of the French court of appeal in confirming the sentence passed on Louis Loréal, editor of *La Patrie Humaine*, for incitement to disaffection, protests are numerous.

La Semaine Aixoise, one of the few newspapers to make any comment, backs Loréal in his advocacy of a general strike, refusal to pay taxes, and refusal of military service, in an article which concludes: **The governments and judges of the Empire were less ferocious militarists than those of our Popular Front!**

Other protests and expressions of support have come from bodies of students, socialists, etc.

New Property System

From Our Own Correspondent

A new property system as a solution of the disintegration and breakdown of the capitalist system was advocated by Kirby Page, well-known pacifist author and lecturer, at a conference in California, U.S.A.

By this he meant more private property for the mass of the people and less for the wealthy. He went on to stress the need for public ownership of public utilities and for the government to buy out factories.

It was asked whether the people could not own their own stores and production units and eventually factories and property, and do this more quickly and more effectively than the government.

Kirby Page replied: "I thoroughly believe in consumer's and producer's co-operatives, but feel that the best solution is the new property system."

PRINTING AND PUBLICITY

W. J. FOWLER & SON, LTD.
245-7, CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY,
LONDON, N.W.2.

Telephone: GLAdstone 1234.
100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

HEADQUARTERS' NOTES

By Max Plowman

AFTER long questioning, to come to a conviction upon a moral issue, and then to act accordingly with simple resolution is one of the happiest and most releasing experiences imaginable. Such an experience is open to everyone today. If everyone who now believes war to be insane would act upon that conviction with simple resolution, then the impending disaster everyone dreads would cease to hang like a thunder-cloud over our heads. And we should hardly know ourselves. The sense of liberty we should experience would be so great that neighbours who haven't spoken to one another for years would fall on each other's necks. Why shouldn't it happen? If only those who know war to be insane, sub-human, and devilish would say so in the only candid and honest way open to them—by attesting their simple decision never to touch the unclean thing again, the course of history would be changed.

War is a personal matter: it demands your personal cooperation. It is not like politics and political representation—something that can be deputized. If, therefore, you decide to renounce war because you believe it to have become so great an evil that it threatens everything that makes life worth living, no power on earth can make you the slave of war. The decision rests, not with Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin or the Emperor of Japan, not with Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Inskip, Mr. Hore-Belisha, Mr. Duff Cooper, or Lord Swinton: it does not rest with the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Pope of Rome: it does not depend upon circumstances or economics or bankers or burglars or even the Lord Chief Justice: it depends upon yourself; because each one of us possesses within himself the capacity to say "yes" or "no" to every temptation of the devil. The choice is ours; for we possess this capacity as truly as Christ himself possessed it in the day when he was tempted of the devil in the wilderness.

Of course in this matter it is easy to find reasons for evading a personal decision. It's easy (at least it was until recently) to lay your responsibility on the head of that ideal scapegoat, the League of Nations, and to say that the League ought to have safeguarded peace for us all, since that was what it was created for. (Alas, the League has died of the sins laid on its head.)

It's easy to ride off on the plea that you believe in democracy and the will of the majority which you don't feel it would be right to deny if it should decide in favour of war. (As if right and wrong could be decided by counting heads!) It's easy to leave the matter in the hands of the Church and say that you would only serve in a war which the Church had decided was a just war. (Only the Church never has the last word on this subject.) It is easier still to say that as a Christian you are enjoined to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and that obedience to the State is the fulfilment of that command (only you beg the whole question now that it has become: What can God have when Caesar demands everything?).

None of these evasions will give you a happy release from the haunting question of your own responsibility. Try to evade it and it will dog you to the end of your days. Of course war would be all right for anyone who truly believed it to be a noble vocation. Only you don't. So long as men truly believed in war and its cleansing efficacy, they could go to war with a good conscience and take their whack of the experience by which the human race slowly learns. But at last it has learnt the truth about war. And now, when universal experience has brought war into the glaring light of full consciousness—now when we know war to be no longer the rude activity of semi-civilized people, but the awful apotheosis of perverted scientific power—is it optional to us to dally with it according as we approve or disapprove its ostensible causes?

"If the truth shall make you free, then are ye free indeed." The truth about war we know. How then is each one of us going to act in the light of that knowledge? That is the overwhelmingly important question for every one of us. Have we learnt the true character and nature of this evil in order that we may depart from it for ever? Or are we going to do despite to the spirit of wisdom and understanding and be like the dog returned to his vomit and the sow to her wallowing in the mire? That is the question.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

ON MAKING CONTACTS

THE problems with which groups are faced vary, but one is common to all—how to get in touch with the very large number of persons who have not as yet declared themselves as pacifists but who are, as a matter of fact, rapidly lining up behind us.

Think for a moment of the men and women met constantly on train journeys who, on being asked, declare themselves as opposed to rearmament, agree that the money spent on war is so much waste, who tell amazing stories of self-sacrifice in their daily lives, are longing for a way to express it in a fight against poverty and disease—who are opposed to all use of violence and practise non-violent resistance every day as a matter of course.

I meet them all the time and marvel at the possibilities that their courage reveals. They have never heard of the Peace Pledge Union, know nothing of the growth of pacifism, have always considered themselves in the minority and despair for a lead. Last weekend I travelled from London to Newton Abbot and back via Southampton and Alton. During a period of ten hours spent in trains, I got into conversation with three separate fellow-travellers—ordinary men and women like myself, thrown together by chance, forced to be in each other's company for several hours.

To each I asked the leading question: "What do you think is the best way out of our present chaos?" After a preliminary period of shyness (inevitable in an English railway carriage!), they became voluble and, strange as it may seem, outlined to me the philosophy called pacifism. Not knowing I was a pacifist, one was careful to say that it was, of course, improbable that I should accept such an idealistic solution. Another based his opinion on his admiration for Dick Sheppard, and the third said, "having been in the war, he had no faith in armaments."

All these stray-members of society lived in places where a group of the Peace Pledge Union is in existence but had never heard of it. One promised to come up to 96, Regent Street, another declined to give his name, but said he would buy PEACE NEWS, and the third was already a member of a church which had a pacifist parson. My point is that if every member of our groups would contact one such person each week, the results would be innumerable.

Here are several suggestions on this subject of contacting which may be useful. I have found that ministers of religion of all denominations (who are not members) can best be approached by sending them a copy of Dr. Alex Wood's pamphlet *Christian Pacifism and Rearmament*, with a covering letter asking them to send a criticism of it. If this is followed up with a request to attend the local group to address it on the subject, "Why I am not a pacifist," a position is reached which clears the grounds for possible membership.

Always ask non-members to explain their position before giving them the reasons for your own. You discover the possibilities and can make full use of the knowledge gained. Allow full scope for the non-pacifist to put his case before your group before he is asked to sign on.

Contacts made through the Press are probably the most important of all, and writers of letters showing a sympathetic appreciation of our position should always be called upon by the group leader in order that the whole position may be explained by word of mouth. Several instances have been brought to my notice where this has been done and very valuable members have been made.

On Feb. 26 I referred to Denis Riley as South Yorkshire Regional Secretary. This should, of course, have been West Yorkshire.

Please Order Your
PEACE NEWS
EARLY

News from the Four Corners

CHANNEL ISLANDS

An important public meeting in Jersey, Channel Islands, may take place in the next few weeks. From what we hear, the people of Great Britain will have to be quick if they don't want this other island to be the first hundred per cent pacifist country.

ESSEX

Upminster now has a PPU group, thanks to the combined activities of Romford group, the local FoR, and Eric Roach, of Bexley Heath. If groups go on popping up like this, the group organizers at Headquarters are going to retire!

KENT

Ashford is another group which has decided to issue a monthly news sheet. It brought out its first issue on March 4, a feature of which was an appeal to members to become regular readers of PEACE NEWS.

LONDON

Bayswater group is opening a Dick Sheppard Centre this month. We understand that there will be a café and lounge and the position, one minute from the park, is splendid. More details about this venture will be found in the other news-columns soon—meanwhile, our congratulations to Miss Dighton.

Enfield Region now produces *Regional News*, an attractively bound eight-page bulletin. The current issue contains a diary of the month, a note on local development and an article "Pacifism in Action," by Max Plowman. This is a splendid start and we wish the venture every success. It is hoped that the groups at Broxbourne and Hoddesdon will shortly join this flourishing region, and with so much activity afoot the Regional Secretary would welcome help in any form from signatories resident in the district. He is Mr. R. J. J. Page, of 38, Mulls Moor Lane, Enfield, Middlesex. Phone, Waltham Cross 428.

Sidcup has recently issued an interesting resumé of their year's work and an imposing fixture list for the near future. A compact questionnaire invites comments and assistance. This idea of summarizing past achievement is very encouraging to hard-working group members and might well be adopted elsewhere.

MIDDLESEX

Hayes Group has just been reorganized, and local members should communicate at once with Mr. S. G. Hughes, 33, Hitherbroom Road, Hayes, Middlesex, who is now the local secretary.

MIDLANDS

Little Bromwich members order two copies of PEACE NEWS, asking the newsagent to display one on condition that the members will buy it if unsold. They seldom have to buy the second copy. This excellent scheme might be copied by other groups, and local newsagents will often agree to display a placard advertising the paper.

Wolverhampton group have succeeded in placing the poster, "War—Prevention is Better Than Cure—Join the Peace Pledge Union" outside the LMS Station. Apparently, the authorities do not regard this wording as "controversial." Other groups have managed to place similar posters with the Southern Railway.

NORTH DEVON

Groups at Barnstaple and South Molton have just organized their first meetings. Both met with outstanding success. At South Molton the chairman, the Rev. J. H. Hockett, signed the peace pledge during the meeting.

OXFORD

Speaking at a meeting at Oxford last week, George Lansbury said that no political party came out today with a policy which meant war; it dare not do it, because there would be no support for it. "If the nations of the world compelled their statesmen and their governments to put as much energy and enthusiasm into the task of finding out how to bring the world to peace as they

do to bring the world to destruction we should end war. I come to you as a man very old in years, but I hope to retain my belief to the end—the belief that the British people have the greatest opportunity among nations of the world for establishing peace."

Miss Mary Gamble, speaking on behalf of the women of today, denounced the idea that men had to fight for women as false and untrue. Mr. Middleton Murry also addressed the meeting and emphasized that "The only way you are going to get peace is by being determined that there shall be a revolution somewhere, and making up your minds that that revolution shall be in yourselves."

YORKSHIRE

At the monthly meeting of the Leeds group last Friday a constructive talk was given by Mr. Super, the Rabbi in charge at the Leeds Synagogue. Mr. Super spoke on "The Jewish Situation in the World today," a situation which, he said, was not only a Jewish problem, but the problem of the whole civilized world; the sooner it was settled the sooner one of the difficulties in the way of world peace would be overcome.

The first annual general meeting of the Sheffield group was held on Thursday. Business included the submission of an annual report, and a financial statement, the election of officers, and the making of plans for the future.

THE NOTICE BOARD

Sidcup and Chislehurst Group dance, March 12, 8 p.m., Bridgeman Hall, Southwood Road, S.E.9 (near New Eltham Station, Southern Railway). Tickets 2s. single, 3s. 6d. double, from John Haynes, 16 Frensham Road, New Eltham, S.E.9.

Concert in aid of Spain and China refugees, March 19, 8 p.m., East Ham Baptist Church, E.6.

Collecting Boxes for use in raising funds for the PPU must be obtained only through group leaders, who can get them from 96, Regent Street, W.1.

Week-end School, May 28 and 29, Heathmount Hall (Friendship Holidays Association Guest House), Ilkley. Write Denis Riley, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, Leeds.

Annual general meeting delegate forms urgently needed by John Barclay, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Members and friends in West Kent Region invited to ramble, March 27, 10.15 a.m. from Gravesend Central Station. Length 12 to 15 miles. Organizer, John Haynes, 16, Frensham Road, New Eltham, S.E.9.

Voluntary workers who would be willing to take charge regularly of Headquarters Library urgently needed. Times: from 1 to 2 on two days each week, and from 6 to 8 each evening; knowledge of librarianship not necessary.—Write The Librarian, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Will any PPU member or friend who could undertake translation work from English into Norwegian get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers needed for office work in connexion with PPU. Apply in first instance to 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

All in London who would be willing to put up delegates to annual general meeting for night of April 2, write John Barclay, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints, Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

MUCH has been said of the democratization of the P.P.U. The best definition of this much misunderstood word that I know is "Democracy is a spirit of social behaviour—not a peculiar device of government."

At the forthcoming annual general meeting, hundreds of members from all over the country and possibly from abroad will gather together for the first time to discuss the business of the movement. It seems that the success or otherwise of the movement will depend much upon the depth and breadth of "that spirit of social behaviour" that individual members are able to exercise at this our first collective meeting.

In the notice of procedures to be adopted at the meeting, Stuart Morris has said, "It is hoped it will be possible to take the general sense of the meeting on any question without the resort to actual voting." As the method of carrying out such a procedure may be strange to some members, may I be allowed to explain briefly?

Any member having a proposition to make on any question, informally lays it before the meeting. Members generally are then encouraged to discuss the proposition without being hampered by any of the usual rules of debate. If the proposition meets with favour from a substantial part of the membership, the chairman draws up a minute embodying the consensus of the best ideas presented. If necessary, this minute is revised until all objections are met. No positive action is taken in the face of any considerable opposition.

The final result is not a compromise of conflicting views but a synthesis of the best thought of all—a case where two and two may make five. This method of creative discussion in search and acquisition of the best possible has been proved as a way of solving problems. It will reconcile the conflict between a tyrannical majority and a stubborn or oppressed minority.

FRANK B. MIDDLETON
114 Icknield Way, Letchworth.

GOOD WILL

N. Swift's suggestion of a P.P.U. League of Good will (PEACE NEWS, February 26) seems to me rather superfluous. I agree that we should give proof of our desire for good will, but need we form another body to do this?

There are already in existence many organizations for social service, such as Toc H, and its League of Women Helpers. Surely it would be better for our members to link up with these or similar organizations, thereby also helping to spread pacifism.

F. D. O'REILLY,
15 Marchmont Street,
London, W.C.1.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

AN exclamation of distress from Rafaela. I looked up from the breakfast she had cheerfully passed me. There were tears in her eyes and she was talking quickly with two other girls. I caught something that sounded like, "Let Franco kill all of us and have done with it!"

The postman had been and she held a letter in her hand. I asked the matter. "My cousins from another colony have to go back to Spain on Wednesday . . ."

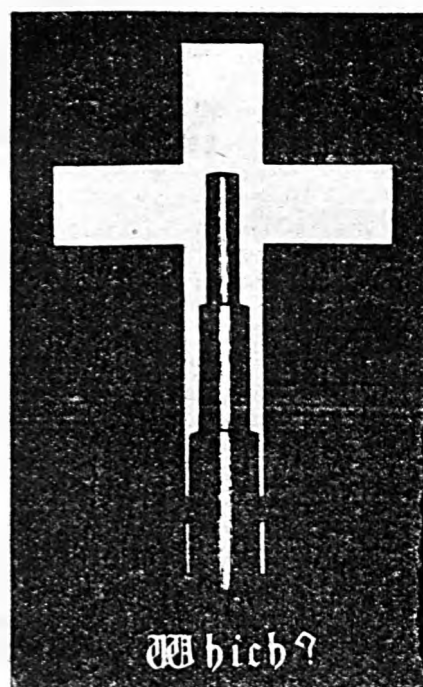
I have just seen her across London to visit them and say goodbye. It was the best we could do for her. There is no reproach on their part at such times. "The English have done their best for us, and now we must go."

But if other colonies have to let their children go, we are holding ours. In the office desk there are three ugly labels, with string to be tied to the button-holes of three excellent little humans, converting them into parcels to be sent back to war and privation. The day fixed for departure has passed and there the labels lie.

"With great grief I have to tell you that they have reclaimed me and that I am to go away next Thursday. I implore you to do all possible for me." "If they tell you that you must come back, then God's will be done. We shall go for food to the 'workhouse' together. Your father has nothing to give you to eat." It is hard to let the children go in defiance of pathetic reiterations of such cries as these. So Basque House remains full.

The week-end has been happy and eventful. There was a more vigorous housecleaning than ever on Saturday morning. Then, in the afternoon, the boys drew a lively match with the Boys' Brigade team.

Afterwards there was a little concert specially for "Mamaita Thelma," "Little Mother Thelma" of our committee at headquarters, and for the visiting team.



Postcards bearing this message in pictorial form have just been sent to a number of leading public men.

Photographic copies of the postcard can be obtained from Una & Percy Salter, Merrisands, The Warren, Dawlish, South Devon, at the following cost prices, post free: 1s. a dozen, 7s. a hundred.

Suicides in a "Disordered World"

At an inquest in Camberwell last week, Dr. A. R. Moore, Walworth police surgeon, declared that "the rise in suicides during the last twenty or thirty years is due to the disordered world."

To discover a system for the avoidance of war is a vital need of our civilization; but no such system has a chance while men are so unhappy that mutual extermination seems to them less dreadful than continued endurance of the light of day.—Bertrand Russell, in *Conquest of Happiness*.

Van Zeeland Report Must Not Be Pigeon-holed

THE danger of the Van Zeeland Report's being pigeon-holed is pointed out by Percy W. Bartlett, secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation, in an article in the March issue of *Reconciliation*.

"In so far as the report itself is an appeal for freer trade," he writes, "it runs counter to the interests of the industries that live on tariffs."

On the other hand M. Van Zeeland's proposals are very largely those for which the International Chamber of Commerce, representing a large volume of business, has stood for a long time.

LEFT-WING CRITICISM

Dealing with criticism of the report from Left-wing circles, and particularly with the argument that if assistance were given to certain countries it would only go to further rearmament, Percy Bartlett declares:

The real question is whether they could not be induced to want a real revival, for their own and other's sake, of genuine international trade in food, raw materials, and manufactured goods.

Peoples, if not governments, would surely welcome a general move of this kind and resent any failure to utilize it to the full, and in spite of the risks, an offer ought to be made, an act of trust being the indispensable groundwork of peace.

The conclusion reached is that the report is "a tool placed in the hands of the peace-maker at a time when the outlook for peace seems well-nigh desperate." Peace-workers ought therefore to ask that the British and French governments, having called for the report, should implement it.

Reconciliation is published monthly, price 3d., by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

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Education

Text-book Revision:
What has been
Done

Considerable interest has already been shown in the removal from school text-books of matter likely to be of danger to the cause of world peace. In the following article, taken from the American paper "School and Society," Miss Bernice Dainard Gestie reviews past and present international efforts made to bring about this achievement. The activity it reveals in this direction will probably come as a surprise to many.

RESOLUTIONS for the purging
of school text-books were
passed by the International
Peace Bureau as early as 1890.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at its 1919 Zürich meeting proposed the setting up of international committees for the examination of text-books, and in the same year this league published *A Bibliography for School Teachers of History*, by Eileen Power.

The Moral Education Congresses meeting in Geneva in 1922, in Rome in 1926, and in Paris in 1930, gave special attention to the international spirit in the teaching of history. The "Geneva Resolutions," which came from the earliest of these congresses, proposing an international committee of experts to facilitate the translation of prize historical works in other languages and their distribution in the world, have not been realized but have led to the setting-up of valuable criteria for the examination of text-books.

The World Federation of Education Associations in 1923 announced its belief that information obtained by school children about other countries should be presented to them with scrupulous accuracy, and in a spirit of fairness and good will.

It served as a jury for the awarding of a prize of \$25,000 offered by Mr. Raphael Herrman for the scheme of education most likely to favour the spirit of equity and good will between nations.

One of the five committees set up by the World Federation to bring this prize-winning plan into operation was devoted to the study of school text-books and, as a result of the study, the committee passed a resolution suggesting a publicity campaign through school journals and other agencies for the purpose of attempting to bring about a change of attitude on the part of teachers themselves, as that was considered fundamental to a change in text-books.

Perhaps the most critical consideration of this subject was in meetings of the International Committee of History Sciences. Most of the historians in this group agreed that the teaching of history must not be tendentious, but that it must limit itself to seeking and stating the truth.

In 1928, the committee approved a resolution expressing the wish that the teaching of history "should contribute to the work being undertaken among the nations for a better mutual knowledge and understanding."

A History Teaching Commission was set up, and a report in 1930 asked each country for a list of text-books most widely in use for examination, which would be "undertaken purely from the point of view of historical truth, so that errors of fact, which sometimes went very far back, should not be perpetuated."

Although these organizations all assumed the importance of keeping to the truth in their attempts to avoid historical error, only the International Committee of Historical Sciences stressed the danger of making international understanding as much of a propaganda instrument as the national over emphasis which was deplored in the other direction.

Meanwhile, a number of governments were making alterations in their text-books, or laying down policies for the revision of text-books. Austria undertook this revision immediately after the War because "the text-books of national history and culture no longer correspond

THIS BUSINESS OF
Means and Ends

APPEARING at the time it did, just when the Peace Pledge Union was forming itself from the scattered signatories of Dick Sheppard's Movement, Mr. Aldous Huxley's pamphlet *What Are You Going to Do About It?* was the herald of a new step in pacifism.

It was a stimulus to pacifists themselves and a wide advertisement of pacifism to the outside world. And it gave pacifists a new slogan. "Means," they learnt, "determine ends."

Epigrams are attractive but dangerous things. They serve their purpose when they help us to a new shape of thought; they are dangerous when they tempt us to put every thought into the same shape.

Some people make a working philosophy out of "Too many cooks spoil the broth," others out of "Many hands make light work." Wise people use both and learn when each of them applies. The fact that every proverb has its contrary may suggest the danger of an epigram if it is adopted too wholeheartedly.

It is time, I think, for pacifists, without rejecting it, to reconsider what Huxley's phrase can mean, and, even more carefully, what it cannot. For there can be no doubt that it has been made the basis of several fallacies.

What can we mean when we say that means determine ends? Actually a great many things, some of them true but trite, some doubtful, some false, some both true and useful. And if my discussion of them seems in places somewhat abstract, I would remind readers that Huxley's phrase is very abstract indeed, and should not be used by people who want to avoid abstractions.

FIRST, we might simply be restating the scientific principle of determinism, that existence is a close texture of causes and effects, so that what-has-been irrevocably determines what-is, and what-is, what-will-be.

This is an arguing ground for scientists and philosophers. The greater part of science is built on the principle; philosophers have always been concerned about its effect on the notion of free will.

As ordinary human beings all we can say is that even those who have accepted determinism in theory have not ceased to behave as though they believe in free will. It is no part of the first-hand human experience on which, as pacifists, we base our attempt to bring new motives into society.

to the facts and ideas of the present time."

In 1919 Prussia also announced the necessity for a complete revision, and in a Decree of 1923 declared that "only the historically significant is to be retained."

The Chinese Government decided upon a revision following the criticism of the Lytton Committee Report describing text-books used in China as kindling patriotism "with the flame of hatred" and building manliness upon a "sense of injury."

In Finland, war history has been excluded from the teaching of history and replaced by the history of civilization, according to a government report. The Hungarian Government in 1932 made censorship applicable to text-books containing details incorrect or offensive to other nations and appointed an expert to revise text-books. In May, 1926, the Ministry of Culture and Public Education in Norway requested publishers to suppress passages relating to the use of force in international relations. A geography text in Rumania was withdrawn in May, 1931, because it contained passages which might be considered humiliating or offensive to neighbouring countries.

Uruguay has appointed a commission of six experts to revise school books in use, deleting expressions injurious to friendly feeling between countries historically connected with Uruguay, this to be done with due respect to historical accuracy.

(Next week: The work of the League of Nations in this direction.)

We must pass this interpretation by.

There is another way in which this phrase may be—and is—very dangerously used. There are people who, taking it as true, seem to think that it remains true whenever both "means" and "ends" have the same adjective in front of them.

This does not always follow. It may be true that violent means lead to violent ends, but if so, it is not because the word "violent" is repeated, or pink means would lead to pink ends (which is not true of custard powder), and motor-cars (being man-made) would never take us to the country.

It was a pacifist who said: "Surely, negative means always lead to negative ends," an assertion which might leave the unhappy negro puzzling whether he was in a negative state after the exertions of the Anti-Slavery League, or in a positive one by the grace of the Society for the Promotion of Liberty.

IF the examples I have given proclaim their absurdity, yet perhaps they teach their lesson.

Nor, I think, do we mean to suggest merely that for any end there is only one means, or the communist who says that revolution is the only way to a classless society would accept Huxley's epigram without demur.

What we do suggest is that the means have some quality in common with the end. But if "some quality in common" does not mean that both can be described by the same word (and we have seen that it cannot mean this), then we are on tricky ground where every advance must be closely considered. For unless we understand the words we are using, not only may we make meaningless statements, but we may overlook certain truths.

For example, if there are two statements in the world with which every pacifist will agree, they are that laziness now will not produce leisure in the future, and that stress of mind is needed to reach peace of mind. How do these fit with the phrase that "means determine ends"?

NO-ONE, I think, who reads Huxley's pamphlet and *Ends and Means* carefully can avoid the conclusion that his use of the phrase is chiefly psychological and concerned with the attitude of mind in which we act.

Yet that it means more than simply that we should act from a benevolent impulse is clear from his insistence on the study of society and the use of the intellect.

The best clue to Huxley that I know is in *The Use of the Self*, by Matthias Alexander, whom Huxley has so often mentioned with approval. Whether Huxley's philosophy is actually indebted to Alexander, or whether it is simply a case of two minds working alike, I do not know, but the close analogy between the two writers is unmistakable.

Alexander is concerned with the correct use of the body, and traces bad posture and incorrect action to concentration on the end desired without sufficient consideration of the physical material that has to be used. Similarly, Huxley's arguments, both about "means and ends" and "the context of reform," are based on the demand that in all social theory the nature of the material—the human material—should be taken into account.

Of this human material he has much to say and only one point can be mentioned here. That is, that if man is not a creature of unchangeable habits, at least he is a creature who changes his habits slowly.

Any social theory, therefore, that demands that he shall be at one moment a roaring lion, at the next a cooing dove, is doomed to failure. This is the demand made by all theories of righteous war, and they take no account of psychological hang-over of intoxication with war.

If we consider the various forms of psychological intoxication, we shall find many clues to understanding Huxley, who, for the moment at any rate, is the apostle of social sobriety.

A. C. Staniland

Film Notes

THE REALITY
OF CIVIL WAR

"If anyone wants war they should see this film," said someone audibly in the Everyman Theatre last week, after the curtain had fallen on *We from Kronstadt*.

It is a stark raw picture of the grim and terrible struggle between the Whites and the Reds in Russia. It shows with pitiless realism the awful horrors of civil war.

The words of Chekov in *The Three Sisters* seem almost prophetic as one watches this terrible unfolding of the events which shaped the revolution:

There is rising a mighty storm, it is very clear, and before long it will sweep from our society its laziness, its indifference, its antipathy to work, its corrupt tedium.

In intensity of emotion this film ranks with elemental things. The only modern instance I can think of at the moment to place in the same category is *Mourning Becomes Electra*.

THE LIFE OF EMILE ZOLA

IT is good to find, among so much that is foolish and futile in modern drama, studies of men like Zola, who in their love of truth and passion for justice sound the note of courage.

In this picture, Muni has given us as fine a portrait as he gave in *The Story of Louis Pasteur*. Almost as fine are the figures of Dreyfus and his wife, Major Picard, the lawyer for the defence, Cézanne, and Anatole France.

Dreyfus has been condemned to Devil's Island for a crime he never committed. The Army Chiefs of France and the President of the Supreme Court refuse to reopen the case, although they know he is innocent, alleging that the Army is above all civil law.

The trial scene, in its setting and its inexorable logic, is as impressive as the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice*, though this time it is justice that is demanded, and not mercy that is sought.

Havelock Ellis has perhaps summed up the value of Zola most justly, and with the finest discrimination.

"To look at Zola from a purely artistic standpoint," he writes, "is scarcely to see him at all. His significance lies less in his method of using his material than the impulses and ideas that prompted their selection."

And what is true of him as an artist is true of him as a man. **What mattered most in life to Zola was "to bring about justice, not by force of arms, but by the liberations of ideas."**

As Anatole France says in his funeral oration, "He was a moment in the conscience of eternity."

A. WHITEHEAD.

THEY GAVE

HIM A GUN

According to Leonard Lyons, of the *New York Post*, the film, *They Gave Him a Gun*, while being prepared in Hollywood for release in Japan, was changed according to these orders:

Delete any footage which includes the idea that war is not altogether glamorous and noble.

The order is reported to have been signed by Joseph I. Breen.

The conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held at Lunteren, the woodland study camp of the Dutch Missionary Society between Utrecht and Arnhem, from July 28 to August 4. The conference fee will be fourteen Dutch florins, the equivalent of about 31s. in English money; and the number of people present is expected to be 200, representing possibly a score of countries.

"... at last the right book has been written"

THE HEART

The Prevention and Cure of Cardiac Conditions
By JAMES G. THOMSON
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A. S. Neill writes—"... the most optimistic book I have read on any medical subject ... I wish I could give away a million copies."

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Speaking Personally

BOOKS and
WORLD PEACE-2

Far nearer to the twentieth century spirit of resolute fact-finding by the victims of military cliques are the poets and dramatists whose work reveals the pity and horror of conquest, "when the thrill of battle is over, and nothing remains but to wait and think."

In *The Trojan Women* of Euripides, which so poignantly presents the helpless victims of Troy ravished, murdered, or sold into slavery, the literature of Greece sets before us the great prototype of all dramatic anti-war realism, whatever its form. Professor Gilbert Murray describes it as the first great expression in European literature "of the spirit of pity for mankind exalted into a moving principle."

But it did not please the Athenian war party. After its production Euripides lived in a deepening atmosphere of hatred and strife,



William Penn.

until at last, "because almost all in Athens rejoiced at his suffering," he banished himself to the remote valleys of Macedon, to write the *Bacchae*, and to die.

Perhaps some of the exiled anti-war writers of Germany—Erich Maria Remarque, Ludwig Renn, Arnold and Stefan Zweig—may take some measure of comfort from the fact that Euripides is likely to survive until the twilight of civilization, whereas, except by historical specialists, the very names of the Athenian war party members are forgotten.

★

It is difficult to estimate how far Euripides has directly influenced the literature of the Great War and particularly the few books dealing with its effect upon women, but many examples of nineteenth and twentieth century literature appear closer to him in temper than the work of the centuries which divide the Greeks from ourselves.

Shelley's *Revolt of Islam* and Byron's *Childe Harold* contain not dissimilar descriptive passages dwelling upon the horror of war. Tolstoy's *War and Peace*—which has been described as the greatest novel so far produced in the literature of the world—carries on the same tradition, building upon the foundation of the author's own experience in the Crimea, its gigantic picture in time and space of the Napoleonic Wars.

During the period of peace-idealism which produced the first Hague Conference, another cry of

This is the Second instalment of the first article in a series in which well-known people will write for three weeks at a time, giving their views on a great variety of subjects. This article is by

VERA BRITTAIN

protest against war came from Germany in the form of a once-famous but too long neglected novel, Berta von Suttner's *Die Waffen Nieder* ("Lay Down Your Arms"), published in 1897, and recently revived in an English translation.

Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*, in which the Napoleonic Wars were again used as the basis of a long series of dramatic episodes, followed in 1904. This great epic drama which represents Napoleon as the callous embodiment of evil, expresses the same spirit of indignant pity as *The Trojan Women*.

War, though bringing glory to the rulers, is shown as causing bitter misery to the ruled. For Hardy the only hope of a peaceful civilization lay in the gradual realization of the truth by the betrayed peoples of the warring nations.

After showing the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig, he puts into the mouth of the Spirit of the Pities three lines which might well describe, not the forlorn victims of Napoleon's armies, but the bewildered democracies of 1937:

Yet is it but Napoleon who has failed.

The pale pathetic peoples still plod on

From hoodwinking to light.

Only ten years after Hardy's play was published, the hoodwinkers again triumphed, and a war which was fought to smash German militarism and make the world safe for democracy ended instead by smashing German democracy and making the world safe for militarism.

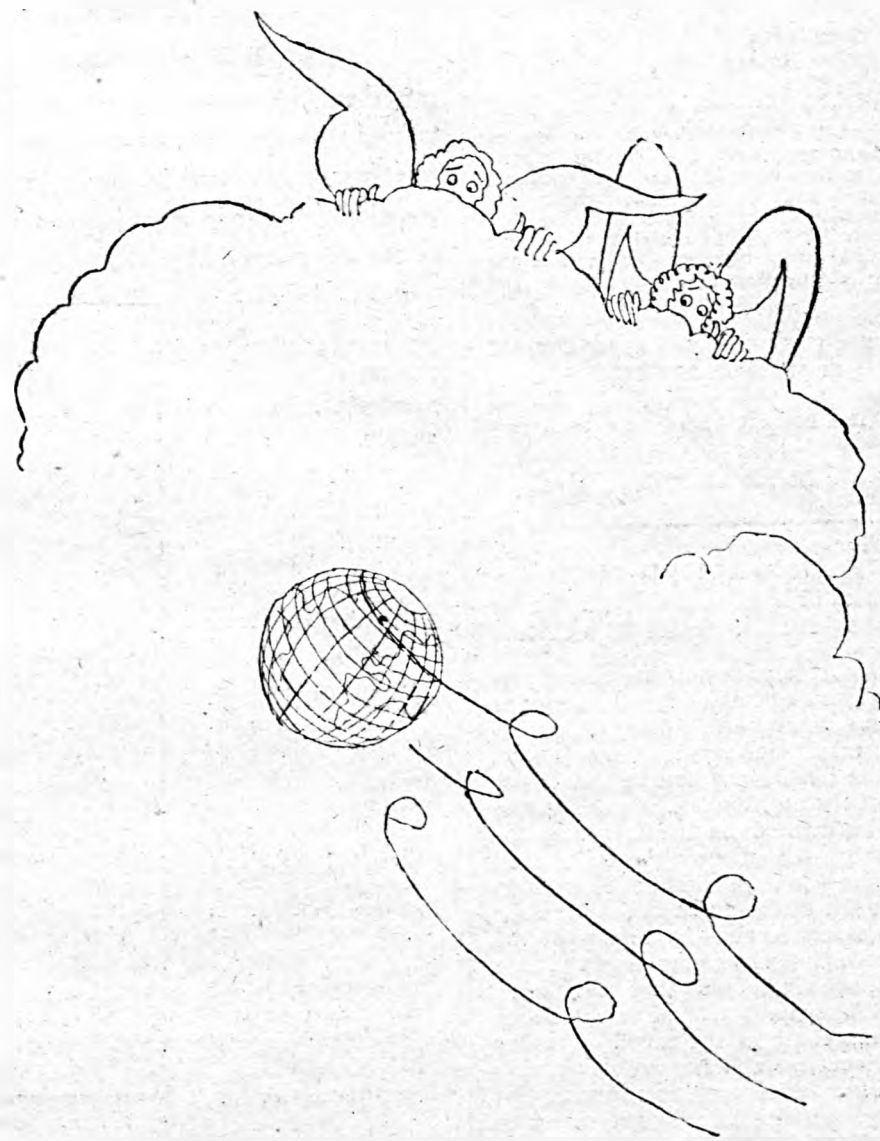
★

THERE are some anti-war writers—Mr. J. B. Priestley among them—who contend that the advocates of peace adopt too serious an attitude, and would combat war more effectively by ridicule than by realistic dramatization or sustained argument.

A man who fought through four years of war and spent his twenty-first birthday in the trenches is entitled to this view, which is supported by numerous classic examples throughout the history of literature.

The "debunkers" of war provide names no less famous than those of Aristophanes, in *Lysistrata*, Cervantes, in *Don Quixote*, and Shakespeare, whose *Troilus and Cressida* gives a bitter, satirical presentation of the Trojan tragedy very different from that of Euripides.

"Angels Unite"—2



"See?—There it goes again!"

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG

More modern exponents of the same method include Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* and Byron in several of the more disreputable cantos of *Don Juan*. One of the most respectable runs as follows:

Cockneys of London, Muscadins of Paris,

Just ponder what a pious pastime War is!

Think how the joys of reading a gazette

Are purchased by all agonies and crimes,

Or if these do not move you, don't forget

Such doom may be your own in after times.

★

A FINAL historic group of writers, hardly to be described as makers of literature but substantially important in maintaining the influence of the pen against what was then correctly described as "the sword," include the legal-minded, conscious planners of peace whose work laid the foundations of international law, and thus began to define the only authority which attempted to fill the gap left by the second and final disappearance of Rome as universal arbiter.

One of the first of the legalistic peace-planners was Sully, Minister of Henry IV of France, whose seventeenth century *Grand Design* suggested the division of Europe into fifteen Federal States. The French philosopher, Emeric Crucé, a contemporary of Sully, went so far as to propose the union of the whole world at a Council held in Venice in 1623.

Far more important than either of these visionaries was the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, whose *De Jure Belli et Pacis* ("The Right of War and Peace"), published in

1625, is generally regarded as the pioneer work upon which the science of international law has subsequently been built. Grotius recorded that he was impelled to write his book owing to the horror inspired in him by the Thirty Years' War, which halved the population of Germany and retarded the development of Central Europe for a hundred years.

Throughout the eighteenth century, schemes for peace invariably accompanied or followed the ravages of war. William Penn, in his *Essay Towards the Peace of Europe* (1693), proposed that the sovereigns of the countries whose Grand Alliance was creating havoc over half a continent should unite in forming an "Imperial Assembly."

When this war was concluded by the Treaty of Utrecht, the Abbé de St. Pierre, produced his *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle*, later to be completed by Jean Jacques Rousseau.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars at the close of the century induced Immanuel Kant to publish, in 1795, his *Essay on Perpetual Peace*. There he maintained that though peace might be an unrealizable ideal, the purpose of such an ideal was the shaping of men's lives.

Within modern times, looking to these distinguished legal and philosophic ancestors for precedent and example, President Wilson conceived his Covenant of the League of Nations which cynical interpreters have subsequently thrown to the diplomatic wolves, and Mr. Frank Kellogg designed his now sadly violated Pact of Paris.

(This article, which is reprinted by courtesy of the "Saturday Review," of New York, will be concluded next week.)

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement
Offices:

17, Featherstone Buildings, London,
W.C.1.

Telephone: Holborn 8627.

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

March 12, 1938

YOUR ANSWER TO ARMS FOR DEFENCE

THE most amazing thing about the colossal estimates for the defence Services, about the White Paper on the subject of defence as a whole, and about the debate thereon in the House of Commons on Monday, is not the size of the burden. It is the fact that the whole thing—the money, the policy, and everything—can be defended—successfully, so far as the main body of public opinion is concerned—by means of the ancient lie that arms give security. One might have supposed that the mere demand for something ever new which is so characteristic of the mood of to-day would have made it impossible to play that broken old record any longer. Yet not only is it possible, but it seems to be the theme song both of government and even of opposition spokesmen who are not actually pacifist. Nor do those who must be presumed to have some intelligence scorn to defend vast armaments on the ground that they provide security. It would appear to have been MR. CHAMBERLAIN's trump card to declare that "the sight of this enormous, this almost terrifying power which Britain is building up has a sobering effect, a steadying effect on the opinion of the world."

The fact that the cry of arms for defence gets away with it not only against a natural suspicion of parrot cries but against all reason and even history, is indeed depressing. But it is not of the slightest use simply to wring one's hands. Still less good (if that be possible) can come of mere raillery against "the politicians" or even—though there is much more substance for it—against those who literally live on such madness as we have seen this week. They may be contributing to a war situation. But in as much as no war could possibly be fought without them, whoever else would it, all those who "wish for peace but—" are contributing infinitely more to such a calamity.

It is not easy (though it is simple: a very different thing) for all those millions of ordinary folk to say a "no" to war that alone will effectually banish it; and one does not help them by trying to bully them into it. Yet they must do it. And the pacifist's only possible answer to this week's official repetition of the arms for defence cry is to show the "yes—buts" beyond a shadow of doubt that, whether they like it or not, they alone in fact make war possible; and that, if they really mean the "yes" to peace, they must now change the "but" to a "no" to war.

It is particularly appropriate that this week also sees the announcement to the world of the Peace Pledge Union's manifesto. For here pacifists are given at once a lead and an instrument for the winning over of the very persons on whom alone the believers in arms for defence depend for the success of their dangerous plans. For this manifesto is not intended to be just an inspiration to members of the Peace Pledge Union—though it is that in part. It is intended to be, and it certainly is, a clear message to the world that arms bring insecurity, that their abandonment is essential to the preparation of peace, and that peace itself is possible only along the lines of real justice for all and of cooperation for the good of all.

The manifesto is in a very real sense the brightest ray of hope in an otherwise depressing situation. As such the present moment is, so far from being

PACIFISM—THE WAY TO PEACE

PACIFISM is not a mere opinion or doctrine but a philosophy of life. It is both negative and positive. Negative pacifism is concerned with the right of an individual to refuse to take part in war or in preparation for war in any circumstances or for any alleged object.

The pacifist starts from certain first principles. A first principle is not arguable. You either see it or you don't—you accept it or you reject it.

The pacifist's first principles are these:

All war is wrong—not merely inconvenient, nasty, bestial—but wrong. It is a crime against man and (to the Christian pacifist) a sin against God. It is a violation of human personality and of human brotherhood. It is contrary to the whole life, spirit, and teaching of Jesus Christ. Therefore it is wrong, and for us we can have nothing to do with it or with preparation for it.

The liveliest imagination cannot picture Christ in khaki bayoneting a German soldier, or bombing helpless people from an aeroplane. If he would not do these things, we must not do them.

The life of the individual must conform as far as human weakness allows to the life of Jesus, the pattern God-man.

The pacifist believes that if enough men in any nation held sincere convictions along these lines the government of that nation would not dare to go to war because it would know that its manhood would not respond to the beating of the drum.

That government would therefore be compelled to follow pacific and conciliatory methods in its international relations. Peace would consequently be more likely to result, or at any rate there would be a better chance of securing peace than if the normal attitude of the government was one of sabre-rattling or imperialist egoism.

This side of pacifism, the refusal to fight, concerns primarily the individual and is, after all, a purely negative position. But man does not live on negations, and I now turn to positive or constructive pacifism.

THIS stresses the fact that you cannot have peace between nations (or between individuals) unless you create the conditions necessary for peace.

The first condition is justice and the recognition of the equal right of all countries to live a full and dignified national life. Those conditions, from an international point of view, do not exist at present, and until they there will be no permanent peace—at best only an interval between wars.

Consider first these primary facts:

1. Great Britain owns or controls one quarter of the world's habitable surface.
2. Great Britain, France, and Russia own or control one half of the surface of the globe.
3. Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States of America own and control two thirds.

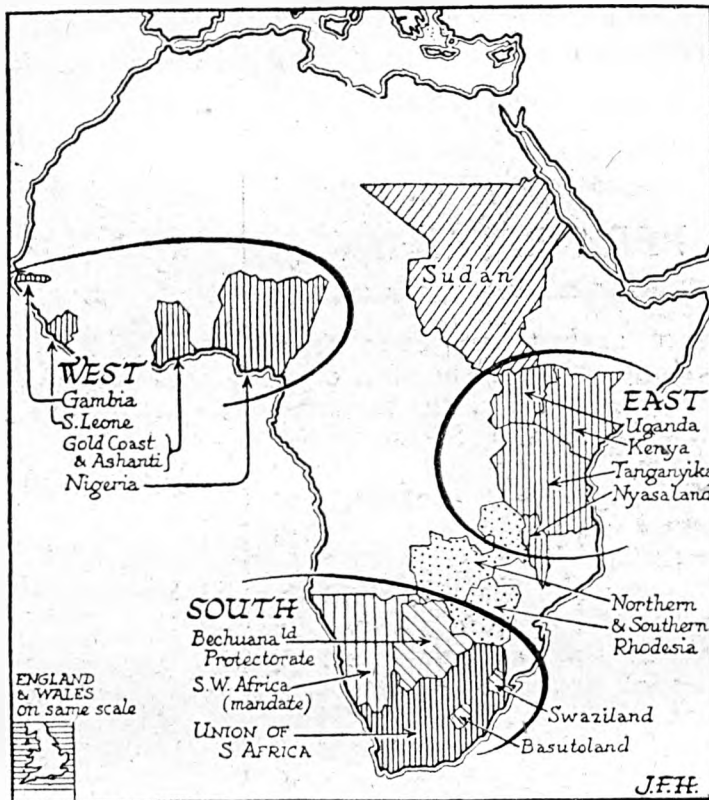
unfortunate, actually about as fortunate as it could be for a determined campaign throughout the country with the dual object of support for the manifesto and additions to the ranks of those who have renounced war once and for all.

Not a moment has been lost by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, who are making it a special feature of their convention at Glasgow today, and who will now keep it in the very front of their campaign. Let every member of the Peace Pledge Union, which originated the manifesto, follow that example. No district where there is a PPU group should long be ignorant of it.

Following many requests we reprint here extracts from the talk broadcast on Feb. 24

by

DR. ALFRED SALTER,
M.P.



Where Britain is one of "the great landlords of the earth."

—From *An Atlas of Current Affairs*, by J. F. Horrabin (Gollancz, 3s. 6d.)

4. Six countries, including Great Britain, France, Russia, and the U.S.A. (the other two are China and Brazil) control three quarters of the world, leaving to 68 other countries, including Germany, Italy and Japan, barely one quarter.

5. Great Britain, France, Russia, and the U.S.A. own 85 percent of the total mineral wealth and total raw materials in the world, leaving to the before-mentioned 68 other countries only fourteen or fifteen percent between them all.

Remember again, those other countries include Germany, Italy, and Japan.

How long do you think that division or allocation of the world's wealth can be perpetuated? For how long do you think active, virile, energetic, enterprising peoples like the Germans, the Italians, and the Japanese will put up with that state of affairs?

Certainly not indefinitely.

The figures I have given justify the division of the nations of the world into two categories of the haves and have-nots. The Germans, Italians, and the Japanese in particular contend that they belong to the have-nots. They use that very term. They declare that they are labouring under intolerable grievances, territorial and economic.

They say that the League of Nations was established by the victorious have Powers after the last war to act as a sort of international policeman to maintain the status quo indefinitely, and to enable those Powers to retain their swollen territorial possessions in peace.

They say that Great Britain, for example, obtained her vast empire by precisely the same methods as those by which Italy acquired Abyssinia or as Japan is now annexing China. Britain, having bitten off as much as she can chew, is naturally satisfied with things as they are, but the have-nots are dissatisfied and will not rest content.

Therefore they say—we must rely on the strength of our own right arm to ensure continued life of our peoples. There is no hope for us if we rely on peaceful lines; we must try more forcible and more assertive methods.

PACIFISTS consider that the present distribution of territories and natural resources is such that there can be no peace until existing injustices have been remedied.

This will require concessions and sacrifice by the have nations like Great Britain and the U.S.A., though such sacrifices will be as nothing compared with those involved should war take place.

Pacifists also say that rearmament on our part does nothing to decrease

international tension but actually rallies the masses of the people in the dissatisfied countries behind their dictators and militarists.

It makes the common people believe more than ever that they have no hope of securing justice or a chance of a decent existence unless they can accomplish such by the exercise of their own might and power. The pressure of economic distress is becoming so threatening among the have-nots, that the diversion of war, whatever the risk, may be chosen as offering the only gambler's alternative to bankruptcy and chaos. It is true that rearmament in these countries is aggravating their desperate position, but they are willing to tighten their belts still further because they see no alternative.

A gesture of real conciliation might transform the situation.

Do not forget that a German Chancellor, Herr Stresemann, long before Hitler came on the scene, said on one occasion to the representative of our Foreign Office:

If you could have given me some concession, I could have won this generation of Germans for peace, for real peace. That you could not or you would not has been my tragedy and your crime.

In 1920, long before the world heard the name of Mussolini, the Italian representative at Geneva, Signor Tittoni, a moderate liberal, made an almost pathetic appeal at a meeting of the assembly of the League of Nations. He said:

To those privileged States which enjoy a well-nigh monopoly of raw materials, I say, "Do not wait to be appealed to by those poorer States which are at the mercy of your economic policy, but come forward spontaneously and declare to this Assembly that henceforth you will renounce your selfish and self-centred aims."

There was no response by Great Britain or any other of the have nations. Now on December 13, Mussolini, in announcing Italy's withdrawal from the League, said:

We showed the world for many years a daring example of patience. Some people thought that some nations would have made rightful gestures of reparation. This they would not do.

OFFER the have-nots a frank discussion and a square deal, make their peoples feel that there is not merely a reasonable hope but a certainty that there shall be a place in the sun for them too—and the case of the militarist dictator is gone.

Peace will come from justice, from economic appeasement and a sharing of the illimitable riches of the vast undeveloped lands of the world.

Hitherto, the have Powers, "the great landlords of the Earth," as Hitler calls them, have treated the open spaces under their control as their exclusive private perquisites. Let them recognize that they are the common heritage of all mankind.

A new world conference, convoked in the spirit of good will on the part of the haves, will make possible an adjustment of the admittedly difficult problems of overcrowded populations seeking expansion, of access to raw materials, of disarmament, and of an all-inclusive League of Nations based not on force but on the moral opinion and influence of the world.

Conciliation and friendliness will achieve what force will never succeed in effecting.

But the one important factor is the spirit of concession and sacrifice by the have nations.

That is what we really mean by "pacifism." Treat other nations as ye would that they should treat you if you were in their shoes. That is the golden rule of conduct for nations as well as for individuals.

That attitude of mind and its translation into practical action will alone bring peace and settlement. Colossal rearmament will not save you. You cannot abolish war by war, or militarism by militarism. The last Great War proved the futility of that idea.

You cannot overcome armaments on the part of Germany or other nations by piling up greater armaments on your own side, simply because it is one of the fundamental laws of the universe that you cannot cure evil by greater evil.

The only way finally to defeat an enemy is to convert him into a friend. That is the message and method of pacifism.

A.R.P. SCHEMES MEET APATHY & OPPOSITION

Official Who Didn't Think Questions Necessary

STILL more signs of apathy and open opposition to air raid precautions are becoming apparent.

Northumberland is the latest county to report apathy among the general public. Blyth has managed so far to find 48 of the 1,750 volunteers needed. At Hexham, another town in the county, four men only attended a recent training class. Throughout the whole county only 3,000 volunteers have come forward.

A letter from the Lord Mayor, asking what service citizens are prepared to render in air raid measures in the event of war, is the latest device tried in Manchester. In at least one case the reply has been very different from that hoped for by the authorities.

A PEACE NEWS reader refrained from completing the official form and instead wrote to the Town Clerk as follows:—

I believe the present situation is largely due to Britain's post-War policy, and that it has been worsened in the last six years by tariffs and other restrictions which make international trade almost impossible.

The Government, persisting in this suicidal policy now invites me to assist in efforts to mitigate its probable consequences, and I decline to do so. Furthermore, I believe that air raid precautions create a war mentality which is a menace to peace, and that they induce a sense of false security.

I would add that I am discharging my duty to the community by working to remove the economic causes of war.

QUESTIONS NOT ALLOWED

In Hackney the Borough Council commenced its campaign to get the public interested on Friday last, when a film

Many Readers will be glad to hear that LORD PONSONBY will write for PEACE NEWS

Next Week

show, preceded by a lecture from the local ARP officer, Captain Knight, was presented in the Town Hall.

Every one of the 500 people who attended received a copy of a special pamphlet prepared and published by the Hackney Group of the Peace Pledge Union, together with other PPU literature.

Captain Knight told the audience that the civilian type of gas mask was proof against any and every kind of gas. Not once in his talk, which lasted nearly an hour, did he mention the danger from incendiary and high explosive bombs (writes a correspondent).

It is significant that no time was allowed for questions. On being approached by a PPU member, an official declared that it had not been thought necessary.

The fact, however, that no time was allowed for questions, was not stated in an account of the meeting which appeared in a local newspaper in which it was stated that PPU members "were urged to put a specimen series of questions to the lecturer, but, although the Assembly Hall was packed not a single question was asked at the close of the meeting."

Naturally, had time for questions been allowed the pacifists would have been among the first to take advantage of it.

(Manchester Scouts and ARP—page sixteen.)

One of the latest leaflets to be issued on the subject of ARP is obtainable from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London W.C.1, price 3s. 6d. for 500, and 6s. per 1,000 post free. It is remarkably striking and should be valuable for groups undertaking distribution of leaflets as propaganda against air raid measures.

"UNCALLED-FOR" INTERFERENCE WITH CONGRESS MINISTRIES

—Mr. Gandhi

A STATEMENT describing as "unfortunate and uncalled-for" the Governor-General's interference with the wish of Bihar Congress Ministers to release political prisoners has been issued by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

He points out that the appropriate section of the Government of India Act "authorizes interference when there is a grave menace to peace and tranquillity" through action proposed by Ministers, and adds:

"Surely the discharge of a few prisoners, even though they were convicted of crime involving violence, for what they no doubt erringly believed to be their country's cause, so far as I could see, could not endanger peace and tranquillity. The Governor-General's interference would come properly if there was disorder consequent upon such release.

PRISONERS' CHANGED MENTALITY

"In the case which has brought about the interference, I understand the Bihar Prime Minister had been assured by the prisoners that they had changed their mentality and that they wanted to live, if they were discharged, as peaceful citizens.

"The action of the Governor-General bewilders me and makes me suspect whether the proposal to discharge the prisoners in question was merely the last straw and that the Congress Ministers in general had fatigued the British authority.

"I hope that my suspicion is groundless, but, if it is so, I fail to understand the interference unless there are good grounds of which the public have no knowledge."

Women's World-Wide Call for Peace

A call by women everywhere to their governments and to the League of Nations is the aim of the committee organizing the peace procession in Holland on May 18, Good Will Day, which asks all women's organizations to send the following petitions on that day:

Petition to Governments. More alive than ever before to the character of modern warfare, so unworthy of man, the thousands of women who, on Good Will Day, May 18, 1938, once more bore a silent testimony of their unabated desire for peace, declare their sympathy with the numberless innocent people who, in the past year, inside Europe as well as outside, fell victims to the force of arms. They most emphatically press the governments more than ever to do all that is in their power to diminish the tension among the nations and to take the stand that the only way to solve disputes among the nations is a peaceable one, in this manner trying to break the vicious circle of the armament race, which must inevitably lead to war.

International Petition to the League of Nations. Thousands of women in all parts of the world, driven by the sympathy for the sufferings and privations of the numberless innocent victims in the belligerent countries, apply to you, urgently requesting you, in all your meetings and in all your deliberations, to try to realize the position of all the afflicted people and, moved by the same pity, to exert your utmost strength in order to put an end to, and in the future to prevent, those sufferings by a harmonious co-operation.

CURE FOR WAR

Hundreds of women from eleven organizations gathered at an annual conference on the cause and cure of war, held in Washington, U.S.A., at which a present-day programme for peace was discussed. Among the subjects the conference recommended for study were economic causes of war and the possibility of solving present problems in the light of modern science.

CURE CATARRH WITH ALLYSOL

THE GARLIC ANTISEPTIC

Powerful but harmless, cures Pylorhoes absolutely. Does not taint the breath. 2oz. bottle 3/6; 4oz. bottle 5/4 post free. G. Milwood, Boxhill Road, Tadworth, Surrey.



Peace Makes Brighter Homes

HERE you see the successful Peace Stall which Birmingham members of the Peace Pledge Union held at the Brighter Homes Exhibition which was open for sixteen days at Bingley Hall. Some thousands of visitors passed the stand and many were introduced for the first time to the work of the Union by receiving free literature from attendants who had many opportunities to follow up with the sale of PEACE NEWS, pamphlets, and books.

The stand itself was situated in a good position in the main hall and decorated in yellow and green, the PPU colours. It was small but the display of literature and posters was both comprehensive and attractive. The photograph of Dick Sheppard brought many comments from his admirers. The first visitor, who was from Hastings, said she had made one of the wreaths for "Dick's" funeral.

A log book of the experiences of the stand attendants recorded many interesting contacts made with inquirers and also several amusing items. Among these was a remark made by a young man who was asked if he had signed the pledge: 'I've never tasted a drop in my life, the smell's enough for me.'

One woman, when offered PEACE NEWS, said "No, thank you. My daughter takes it daily."

German Ministers "In Accord" With Pacifism

I ALWAYS find myself deeply in accord with Christian pacifism as you deduct it from the gospel, and a great many friends and German colleagues, especially among the youth, are of one mind with me.

These words, written by a German minister of the Confessional Church, are of especial interest in view of the removal to concentration camp of Dr. Niemöller, another Confessional Church minister.

The German minister's letter (which is quoted in the Quarterly News-Letter of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, continues:—

"It is, of course, for the time being almost impossible to those who live in Germany to express aloud this forbidden opinion. Yet, even among the 'militarists,' the attitude assumed in the Confessional Church is already absolutely different from what it used to be twenty years ago, and in the midst of the Church, prayer for peace is now taken absolutely seriously."

WHIRLIGIG

by
Percival Gull

ADVERTISEMENT

AS I shall probably be annoying you on this page for some considerable time to come, it is only fair to all those sweet young things who intend writing to me to give them a few details concerning my personal appearance.

Darlings, I have the bluest eyes: they twinkle in my face like teeny-weeny stars, all misty and dreamy. My beard is six inches long: it is beige colour and has a faint streak of magenta running through the middle.

My trousers were designed for me by the Bard of Clapham Common. They are made of twill calico, with a patch of sackcloth on each knee. This prevents me catching cold when I kneel on the bare stones of Mrs. Mughunter's kitchen to pray to The Spirit of The Age.

My chest is normal and my height is seven feet. I usually carry a bowie-knife or a knobkerry.

I shall be happy to send a signed photograph to every little innocent whose Daddy is a Rich Man. No others need apply, and no envelope will be opened unless it gives off a strong odour of Some Subtle Eastern Perfume.

TODAY'S NEWS

LIEUTENANT GADD-SIRE (of whom more anon) has retired to the Shetland Islands, with the idea of growing a moustache. He cut the fourth hair yesterday, and a beacon was fired on Colney Point to celebrate the occasion.

THE ARTISTIC
TEMPERAMENT

A REMARKABLE thing happened not long ago at the Royal Opera House in Lilliput. Madame Levitzia Belladonna Castadoro-Gratz, who was taking the part of Mimi in *La Boheme*, climbed to the top note and then found herself unable to get down. She stood there, a huge mountain of flesh and fripperies, shrieking at the top of her voice and quivering from head to foot. The conductor frantically signalled to her to cut it off, but she simply went on and on.

The audience left after ten minutes. There was no panic. Madame Levitzia Belladonna Castadoro-Gratz was still trying desperately hard to deflate herself and cut off the supply of air.

She was stopped finally by the head scene-shifter, who walked up to her, prodded her bicep, and said: "Cheese it, Levil!"

At this Madame Levitzia Belladonna Castadoro-Gratz's temperament showed itself. She closed her mouth suddenly and bit the scene-shifter's head right off.

FITNESS CAMPAIGN DEPT.

PROFESSOR ZABBERTWEE, who last year entertained the National Medical Association with a lecture on The Synthetic Manufacture of Fighting Services, spoke last night at the Institute of Crass Lunacy.

He said: "We must keep our bodies healthy during life. Only thus can we be sure of making good fertilizers when we die."

The Professor forecast that after the next war there would be a glut of cabbages between Oxford Circus and Hoxton.

He added that ten minutes' physical training a day would give our successors not only cabbages, but sweet peas, orchids, and asparagus.

COURT CIRCULAR

MR. EBENEZER GULL has gone to prison for six months and will not return before the middle of September.

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Ask yours to take one weekly and
then send us his name and address

WHO'S in the NEWS

THE idea that news is something just waiting to be picked up is common to nearly everyone except the poor writer whose job it is to find it.

For instance, all this week celebrities have been flitting across the stage, posing on the decks of liners and telling bored journalists what they think of our policemen. Yet how many of them are real news? How many of them really merit one inch of print, let alone a paragraph, a column, or a portrait?

The most interesting people are very often the people of whom one has never heard. They hide behind the scenes. To find them at all is hard work.

To make them talk about themselves is a job almost as difficult as persuading the average militarist that pacifists don't like his style.

G.L. LED
THE WAY

HOWEVER, here is someone who is news: GEORGE LANSBURY. He leads the procession in a double sense this week.

Last Saturday he marched at the head of seventy people from Regent Street to the Strand, in a poster parade designed to advertise this newspaper.

PEACE

by Francois Laugier

ONE night in a poor suburb where winking gas-jets gave out a miserly light, I met Peace. She did not appear as a white dove; no olive branch trembled in her beak. She was a poor girl wandering the streets, who, unlike others of her kind, seemed to shrink from men.

*

"How sick I am of so many lovers," she whispered. "The whole world claims that it loves me and respects me and defends me against my enemies. But the only enemies I have are my brutal defenders. They make use of my former good name, for I was once pure, as all women once were. I was once honoured in the churches and even now I have some old friends who respect me—but each day they become fewer."

"I love you," says the armament manufacturer who forges weapons to kill me.

"I love you," says the warrior whose job it is to hunt me still further into space.

"We love you," say the old men around the green council tables as they sign treaties which can only be my death warrant.

"I am loved—but always through hate of someone. I am the living shield behind which roar the chemical factories and the Bessemers which look like ranks drawn up ready for conquest."

"Somebody loves me—against Hitler; someone loves me—against Stalin; for the Negus or for the Duce. Cannot someone love me for my own sake?"

"True, I have sunk so low that fastidious and refined men turn away from me. Even among the common people, there are few men to pardon me and to love me—and among them there are some, smitten with some kind of madness, who attack me, rape me, tear me to pieces while still protesting their love."

"Yes, I know well enough that it is hard and difficult to serve me. My lover must ignore taunts and provocations; he must give up his prestige and self-respect; he must forget the love of conquest; he must love the daily round with its common tasks. But when the effort has been made he will be free from anguish. Can I find some men who love me thus?"

*

Thus spake Peace, a poor girl in tatters, fleeing before those who would carry her off. I followed her. Men sneered "Coward" or shouted "Pro-Hitler." Police came to arrest me—but the smile of Peace was so sweet and so strong that they paused.

It was the first victory.
(Translated by K. V. Stephens from the *Anthologie des Ecrivains Pacifistes*.)

From the Strand onward Max Plowman and Canon Morris took over, and altogether 130 copies of PEACE NEWS were sold.

It is worth mentioning here that similar parades are held every Saturday, beginning from Regent Street, that volunteers are wanted, and that pacifists who are on the look-out for a little excitement would be well advised to try them.

HE NEVER
LOSES HEART

NOW, back to George Lansbury: No one would think, to look at him, that he was seventy-nine years old and that he had been in prison twice. Yet he has. (He has even been humorously described as "the oldest jail-bird in London.") Moreover, he had a bad accident a few years ago that nearly crippled him.

Yet George Lansbury still carries on, still pays goodwill visits to European statesmen, still makes speech after speech, and passes on his message of Christian charity.

For George Lansbury is one of those remarkable men, inspired by an overwhelming faith, who never lose heart. His whole life is wrapped up in spreading the doctrine of pacifism, in trying to create in others the human sympathy and understanding that make for peace-mindedness.

There is not much one can say about him that has not been said before. He has been actively engaged in politics almost since he was a boy and he has always been in the news. Today, with his mutton-chop whiskers, his spectacles perched anyhow on his nose, George Lansbury is the living symbol of the plain man.

He stands four-square against the world, and can afford to laugh at the taunts of his opponents, if only because he is older than most of them and knows from experience what kind hearts often hide behind a row of shining medals.

"SACKED" FROM
THE O.T.C.

THE name NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE has been appearing regularly in this paper for months past. Yet not one reader in twenty knows what he looks like and to most of them he is just a vague somebody who writes something every week. Here are some facts about him.

He is tall, blonde, and thin, with a baritone voice that would surely be the envy of every open-air speaker in the movement. He is the only person the writer knows who can talk naturally in an underground train.

He was educated at Wellington and Peterhouse, Cambridge.

At Wellington he was a member of the O.T.C., though even then his pacifist sympathies were beginning to show themselves: he was "sacked" for failing to polish his buttons!

At Cambridge he studied mathematics. Then he made a film. Then he retired to Devon for a year. Then, during the Abyssinian War, he became a pacifist, returned to London, and joined the Headquarters staff of the Peace Pledge Union at the beginning of 1937.

Nigel Spottiswoode's chief hobby is music. He collects gramophone records by the dozen. His favourite composer is Beethoven and his favourite work the *Ninth Symphony*. Apart from music, he finds his chief interest in everything connected with science.

WENT THROUGH
THE MILL

DEVONSHIRE seems to be a favourite retiring-place for members of the PPU.

A. C. STANILAND, who writes in this issue on "This Business Of Means And Ends," is another who at some time or other has sought refuge in the county of cream and cider.

Before that he was a journalist. For six years after leaving King's College he went through the mill of news-making in the provinces: Bath, Bristol, and Brighton. Then his health broke down and he took to growing violets and strawberries in the country.

It seemed hard work but he kept it up for three years. Then he realized just how hard it was. As Ogden Nash puts it, "he dug the whole kaboodle under" and

Love Song of
the Future

O for a blue and bombless sky,
A cool, unchlorinated breeze,
A gunless quiet everywhere;
These blessings would me please.

*

Here in our bomb-
proof shelter we
Frolic in concrete
shade.
And oft exchange
a gasmasked kiss
Behind the
barricade.

*

But you shall be my bride, my love,
—Prim coyness do not sham—
And in a year or two we'll buy
A little, gas-proof pram.

M.S.

D'Annunzio:

A Personal Glimpse

Gabrielle d'Annunzio, who died last week, was allowed to put up the bow of a destroyer, with a three-inch gun, in front of his villa at Lake Garda, as a sort of monument.

Every time a national holiday came around, he climbed up to the gun and had a gay time popping off salutes, records Boake Carter (quoted in *Reader's Digest*, February, 1938), who continues:—

Opposite the villa, a rich German financier built himself a fine new house and painted it a brilliant pink. Every time the old poet saw it he flew into a rage; finally he despatched his butler to present his compliments to the German, and demand that the house be painted a more conservative colour within 24 hours.

The German chuckled at the eccentricity of his famous neighbour—and stood pat. Next morning, however, when he saw the old poet and the butler training the gun on him, and two footmen rushing up ammunition, the German was scared stiff. He telephoned the police, and the German Embassy in Rome.

The police told the mayor, who called the Ministry of the Interior in Rome, which declared that the German would have to repaint his house, but the fascist State would foot the bill.

Did You Believe It?

MEN see not one another but distorted phantasms which they call one another which they hate and go to battle with: for all battle is well said to be misunderstanding. —Thomas Carlyle, in *The French Revolution*.

While men continue to see one another as distorted phantasms it is not surprising that they can believe this sort of thing, taken from one of our foremost newspapers of April 21, 1917:—

The Somme fighting last year brought an immense harvest to the Corpse Utilization Works . . . which are established in each army area. . . . It is not only soap, pig foods, lubricants, manure, and gelatine for munition works that they extract from corpses. You must remember that of all things hungered for in Germany today, food is the most precious. . . . Cannibalism exists in Germany today in more direct forms than the eating by human being of corpse fed pigs. . . . Only Germans could do these things.

is now back in London, reading for a philosophy degree at University College.

A. C. STANILAND is Vice-Chairman of the W.C.I Group of the PPU.

THE THREE
"B's"

THE German Government has recently black-listed several eminent Jewish artists, among them YEHUDI MENUHIN. They are described as people "whom the world can do without."

Menuhin, still almost a boy, is already recognized as perhaps the greatest violinist in the world. He is in London at present and gives the second of two concerts at the Queen's Hall on March 20.

He made his first public appearance at the age of seven. His Berlin debut was an astonishing display of virtuosity. He played what are commonly known as the three "B's"—the concertos of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms—one after the other.

So far Menuhin has given about three hundred concerts all told and his average price per concert is £1,200. Which is the surest demonstration one can have of what the average music-lover thinks of Nazi philosophy!

Menuhin is an American, by the way. He was born in New York in 1917.

Woman's Point of View

A CALL TO WOMEN TO RESIST WAR

WORLD events are bringing women to a position of responsibility and influence that they have not had since primitive eras of human history.

Briffault, the French anthropologist, in his classic work *The Mothers* brings overwhelming evidence to prove that amongst tribal peoples and even in great civilizations like that of ancient Egypt, all authority, influence, inheritance, and property were vested in women, because as the producers and nourishers of children they alone could preserve the tribe from extinction. Women were supreme in the primitive community not because of force but because of function.

As time went on, women lost their significant position. Gradually their value as producers and childbearers deteriorated. Many of us can remember when "over-population" was the prevailing menace feared by the public mind. But the wheel has come round full circle.

Nearly every country inhabited by the white race is crying out for more children. Only women can supply that demand. Once more "The Mothers" come into their own. Governments will have to take cognisance of their will.

A soldier in the great European War, home on sick leave, told me that after a battle, when darkness had fallen, cries could be heard from the no-man's-land between the trenches where men of both sides still lay wounded.

One word was often heard from the boys of all nations in their death agony—"Mother" . . . "Maman" . . . "Mutter"—"not language, but a cry." It was the cry that every mother hears when she brings a human soul to birth.

"We feel that our mothers have betrayed us to this death." That is what a young officer said to me when he came in 1917, a stranger, to thank me for an article of mine pleading for a negotiated peace.

The article had been passed from hand to hand down the line, and he had promised his companions to find me out on his leave and give their message to me. Soon after his return to the front he was killed.

Now do you see what I want to say?

Women have a special responsibility for resisting war. If they do not defend their human young, they bring forth their children to their doom.

The opposition of women to war should be absolute. Women are in a special sense the custodians of human life.

Human life and modern mechanized warfare cannot co-exist on the earth. The one must cease or the other. It is for women to choose. Mechanized warfare does not stand still. This country is spending four or five times as much as in the year 1914—before the last war.

There is no logical limitation to rearmament till every man is a soldier, and all wealth is employed in the creation of engines of destruction. There is no power on earth that can proclaim "Thus far and no farther"! There is nothing for it now but repudiation.

"That is surrender to the aggressor!" "That is not a practical proposition!"

Is war a practical proposition then? After the massacre of the populations, after the starving out of peoples, can it be guaranteed that "the just cause" will win?

Will liberty and democracy be made safe? Not the wisest can guess which nation will be the destroyer; nor even assert that all nations alike will not be overwhelmed in a common destruction.

How can an end be made to war? Only by the creation of a social world based upon the truth of unity.

How does a new creation become manifest on the plane of the physical world? It is first conceived in the realm of the idea. This is true of all creation from a universe to a tin-opener.

By

Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence

First the imaginative conception, then the articulated word, finally the thing. There is no short cut.

Now we know where we stand.

We in the Peace Pledge Union join with pioneer creative thought all down the ages; we stand with the followers of Jesus Christ during the centuries after his death.

In the world of our imaginative conception we have abandoned allegiance to the idea of war. We have replaced it by the creative idea of union. A new idea has to be brought to the birth. The future of humanity calls to "the Mothers."

For in literal fact we are members one of another. We might as well "cut off our nose to spite our face" and call it virtue, as go to war in the name of patriotism or collective security.

We must expose the delusion that there is safety in armaments. There is safety only in the acceptance in practice of the essential solidarity of the human race.

There are reasons connected with women's traditional position in society up to the present day that render it appropriate that women should take the lead in resistance to war.

When war breaks out, the tradition of ages calls men to take their place in the line of battle. A man who refuses to kill his fellows not only calls down upon himself hatred and scorn but risks his life.

War resisters in this country were not shot in the last war. But they may be in the future.

It has never been a woman's duty to kill. Tradition is on her side. She may encounter opposition and abuse and economic difficulty, but she does not pay the same heavy penalties as a man.

It is her privilege now to demonstrate that chivalry, which impels the strong to lead, for her function as life-giver not as life-destroyer, puts her in an entrenched position in offering resistance to war.

Ideas know no national frontiers.

As the idea of human unity spreads and takes shape in this country, it will spread and take shape in every part of the world. Its growth may be, from the measuring rod of an individual life, slow.

It may not prevent war.

But if war comes, the end is not yet.

The idea that we bring to birth today will be part of the creative force that will build up the world again. There is no other way of salvation for the human race.

Womanly— not Feminine

A READER has expressed the hope that this page will not be too serious. She insists that women are more interested in cooking, beauty, and the home than in problems of peace and war, or the achievements of their sex.

I should like to tell her that I consider cooking a most serious subject, but that there is no possibility of finding pacifist puddings or international fritters on this page.

Nor will anyone tell her how to have charm, although she may be occasionally urged to have sense. It is not that we despise these topics, but surely they are abundantly catered for elsewhere.

This page intends to be serious but not grim, informative but not gossipy, womanly but not feminine, and probably far from lady-like.

Lecturing in London recently, Mr. Philip A. Landon expressed a view which must surely infuriate every thinking woman.

Mr. Landon is lecturer to the Imperial Defence College. He said: "Soldiers, sailors, and airmen must say that they detest a system of things in which they may be called upon to destroy the



"WHEN I BECAME A MAN, I PUT AWAY
CHILDISH THINGS"

Drawn by ERIC MOORE

The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

by NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

IS IT PEACE?

POLICEMAN again—this time in the uniform of the New Commonwealth. Lord Davies said of his proposed police force:

When you get to know my international policeman you will like him. There is no reason why he should be ferocious or animated by feelings of enmity or animosity. If any government obstructs the traffic by threatening the peace, our international policeman will courteously but firmly remind it that such practices are no longer tolerated. . . . An international police force would never attack a defaulting country. Standing in the background it would prevent that country from resorting to war.

Yet the courteous "bobbies" are to consist, according to Lord Davies, of the pooled military resources of all nations. How such a pooling or combining of the armed forces of the world is to be brought about is beyond the imagination. For the existence of armed forces implies the existence of sovereign states, of which the forces are an integral part.

A truly international military force

women and children of other countries."

He does not seem to realize that soldiers, sailors, and airmen are somebody's children. And why is it a worse thing to kill a woman than a man? What wife or mother is there who thinks it a worse thing for her to be killed than her husband or son?

War is a male sport, but the recruits for this blood sport are not coming fast enough, so a full-page article in a daily newspaper urges Mr. Hore-Belisha to advertise the wonderful facilities for first-class sport in the Services. "Tell potential recruits what a grand life they're offered on the games side."

The writer suggests that an advertising campaign boosting the sports stars of the army might be considered undignified and unEnglish. But he says, with hearty earnestness: "War too is undignified, unEnglish, and quite shocking. We can't be squeamish about people's feelings in a subject of this gravity."

So if you want your husbands and sons to enjoy rugby, soccer, hockey, baseball, fencing, swimming, boxing, riding, tennis, cricket, or licensed murder let them join the army.

could only exist if all states renounced their sovereignty, and all individuals their national allegiance. But under such circumstances a military force would be unnecessary, for it would have nothing to fight.

New Commonwealths are not built in a day, and it is idle to discuss such conceptions in their ultimate ideal form as if they could come into existence instantaneously. Political thought is a process, not a finished plan.

Let us examine how New Commonwealth ideology would operate in the existing world situation. It would, presumably, work in the direction of closer collaboration and ultimately federation between nations with common interests. The federated nations would give up sovereignty between themselves, pooling their financial and military resources and presenting a united front to the rest of the world.

The snag is that the rest of the world would adopt the same process, forming a rival group of federated nations. This process of the division of the world into two rival armed camps is, in fact, going on to-day, and its logical outcome is the total militarization of both sides.

Lord Davies condensed the arguments for police action into one sentence:

The only right and moral use of force is the policing action when it is used solely as the servant of justice to ensure that the law is respected and upheld.

The law which Lord Davies wants to uphold is the wrongness of war, of "mutual annihilation on the grand scale." But his method involves essentially the breaking of the law by the police.

In a modern war of counter attack, the activities of each side are indistinguishable. If one is making war, then the other is; if one claims he is upholding the law, then the other can make the same claim.

The mistake of New Commonwealth supporters is the assumption that war is only wrong on one side. Modern war is the ultimate of violence, if the "peaceful" countries try to threaten an even greater violence to deter the aggressor, they will themselves be guilty of preparing to break the very law which they profess to uphold.

NEW BOOKS

A SYMPOSIUM FROM OXFORD

WOULD I FIGHT? Edited by Keith Briant and Lyall Wilkes. Blackwell. 5s.

Reviewed by
ROSE MACAULAY

THE contributors to this book of essays are present or recent Oxford undergraduates, and seem, as the editors say, fairly representative of the various sections of opinion into which the youth (and, for that matter, the age) of this country is divided.

The views expressed range from hearty orthodox king and country patriotism, through reluctant willingness to do battle for collective security, Czechoslovakia, and/or the class war, down to near and absolute pacifism. As might be expected, the most intelligent essays are the most perplexed. "War is wrong—so what?" as Mr. Briant observes, in an admirable final essay.

I know in my heart and in my brain that it is finer to suffer than to rise up in one's pride and refuse to have one's dignity affronted or one's pocket picked by unscrupulous neighbours. I know that it can never be noble to kill, and that if one was goaded into butchering one would never feel any sense of pride or satisfaction that one had honoured one's country.

Yet he cannot reply to the question with a clear-cut "No," for he knows that he, and the many who think as he does, may be stamped into fighting by a suitable war cry.

Mr. Peter Wood, who despises pacifists, regarding them as mere self-preservers, without affection for the land they have inherited or any other fine feelings, has already found his war cry—he will fight to preserve from the foe what Mr. Briant calls "the charming contours of the British Isles." Mr. Wood believes pacifists not to admire these; indeed, he is doubtful whether pacifists can appreciate anything beyond their own material well-being. His grasp of pacifist principles is slightly shaky, and he sneers too firmly at those with whom he disagrees.

So also does Prince Alexander Obolensky, who calls his essay, "War is not ignoble," and who would, as a good white Russian, charge with the ardour of an irritated bull at any red on the map, and would like (one can scarcely blame him) a go at the Soviet Republic. One gathers that he would gladly join the fascist dictators in a war against his mother-country, in the very natural hope that the old régime might be restored. Both he and Mr. Wood seem obsessed by a strong distaste for the Oxford Union, which famous debating club occupies a disproportionately large place in their essays.

The other essays are all more intelligent than these, though Mr. Wilkes's militaristic violence is a little surprising in one who admits that "war is the ultimate atrocity." He has decided that the Left must be as prepared as the fascists to achieve its aim through violence, misery and bloodshed.

So he wholeheartedly admires Soviet Russia, ruthless repressions and all, and "for the achieving of socialism, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the right of the coloured peoples to live in dignity, I will fight."

Mr. James Forster, too, will fight for communism, and believes fervently in the class war; Mr. Brown writes an interesting and less orthodox essay, as a convert from pacifism to defence of the Covenant of the League; Mr. Gould-Adams, loathing and despising war, will yet choose it rather than the destruction of the values in which he believes (he does not believe in the League); Mr. Russell Bentley, an absolute pacifist, intelligently counters the accusation that pacifists think nothing worth fighting for, remarking that "even if we won a war for democracy and socialism, militarism would be enthroned," and that "war is in itself a concession to fascism." There is no point in opposing the fascists if by so doing you enforce their creed upon yourself.

There remain the two first essays in the book, which are possibly also the two best. Mr. Prideaux would fight, in

the last resort, for democracy. He believes that things have gone too far for the pacifists' remedies, and that it may be their job to keep pacifist ideals "alive through a brief Dark Age," while others fight "for justice, for a rational economic order, for some security from international brigands." For "the price of peace in the world today is toleration of brutal injustice, the sacrifice of the helpless to the strong."

Mr. Cadogan, whose essay seems to me the best of an interesting set, distrusts and hates the class war, and would assist (though never by fighting) only a war for collective security.

It is an interesting and various collection and was certainly worth making; it should be read by (a) our rulers, (b) convinced pacifists, though it will tell neither anything new.

THE FAITH OF AN ARMOURER

KRUPP, or The Lords of Essen. By Bernhard Menne. Hodge. 12s. 6d.

Everyone knows that armament firms play an important part in international affairs; the League of Nations Commission of 1921, whose findings have never been rebutted, declared that they had been "active in fomenting war scares," and deliberately accentuated the arms race in the interest of their own dividends.

But it is not always easy to find the evidence for these criminal activities of some of our most respected captains of industry. Herr Menne's book is an important collection of such evidence, made by a man of scrupulous historical integrity.

The story of the house of Krupp is traced from 1615 to the present day, with a mass of detail painstakingly presented in the Teutonic manner (the excellent index contains some 600 proper names); but in the main the book is the story of the last century in international affairs, written in terms of the armament manufacturers' activities, and a fascinating and appalling story it is.

The utterly unsympathetic figure of Alfred Krupp, real founder of the family fortunes, stony-hearted employer, hypochondriac, philistine and complete fascist, born before his time (he regulated his employees' private lives with soulless rigidity, so as "to provide the State with plenty of faithful subjects and to develop a special breed of men for the works), is only less interesting than that of his son Fritz, the timid and sickly voluptuary, friend of the German Emperor and political reactionary, who died in mysterious and unsavoury circumstances.

Of humanity, love of country, or even of ordinary commercial decency, the armament industry appears to show hardly a trace. The Krupps made their swollen fortunes (the last war meant something like forty million pounds' profit to them—the earnings of twenty "good" peace years) by persuading a variety of governments to embark on a policy of competitive arming, each country being induced to buy a new form of gun because a rival was already equipped with it.

The directors of these firms must smile at the Jutland controversy; they know well enough whose victory it really was, since the guns of the German ships, and the armour of the British, both came from the same workshop.

For four years of the war Vickers daily fitted tens of thousands of shells with Krupp patent fuses, with a royalty of 1s. 3d. a shell and half-a-crown for every brace of Germans bagged—and after the war the two firms solemnly wrangled over the account, Krupps claiming so many marks per man for the two million German dead. The men whom we still allow to trade in death may have, therefore, a direct interest in every shot fired by the enemy and every casualty suffered by their own side.

Herr Menne was forced to leave Germany because the matter of this admirable book was considered tantamount to high treason. May some equally skilled investigator turn his hand to the Augean stables of our own armament firms in an equally treasonable fashion!

L. B. PEKIN.

THE WRONG ENEMY?

RECALL TO THE CHURCHES. By Robert Morton. Arthur Baker. 5s.

If a man is firmly convinced that the Astronomer Royal teaches that the moon is made of mouldy cheese, he may write a book attacking what he believes to be the astronomer's error. But the result will neither be a victory over the astronomer, nor a recommendation for the author.

And yet this is an almost exact parallel to the line of reasoning employed in this book. In the name of rationalism, Mr. Morton launches an attack on Christianity and all for which the Church stands. So he thinks.

The trouble is that by far the majority of his arguments are directed against positions which Christianity has never taught. For the rest, the book contains the kind of anti-Christian attack that one associates with Hyde Park rather than with a serious book, consisting of points which have been answered over and over again in Christian literature. Has the author read a serious Christian book since 1891?

I dislike very much the way in which the author lifts a quotation out of its context and makes it mean what he wants it to mean. He does this both with quotations from the Bible and from other authors as well. Surely this is a very near approach to intellectual dishonesty.

Even where he approaches really debatable points, such as the attitude of Churchmen toward war, the author's emotional bias is so apparent that his argument is almost worthless. In fact, as he has previously tried to show that Christianity is utterly mischievous, there seems little point in asking why Christians are not better ones. I congratulate the author for showing in 207 pages how many misconceptions of Christianity he has.

It is a mischievous book because some people may think it is rational, whereas it depends almost entirely on assumptions, unverified or even unverifiable. I think I shall give it to my young confirmation candidates, to let them see for themselves how weak the so-called rationalist position is today. They will not be deceived.

Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER.

HUMAN GENETICS

HEREDITY AND POLITICS. By J. B. S. Haldane. George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

The book is in two parts: the first is a popular exposition of certain developments of the science of genetics; the second is an examination of some claims and proposals that have been prompted by the supposed application of this science to human affairs.

The purpose of the first part is to provide enough material for a just appreciation of the subsequent discussion, and it is therefore limited in its extent. Many topics of supreme importance to modern genetics are not discussed; nevertheless, the facts presented are probably sufficient for the purpose intended. The lay reader might prefer that terms such as "sibs" and "homozygotic twins" should be defined, but otherwise he will find little to distress him.

The impressive results of the application of genetical methods to the breeding of animals and plants, have suggested the possibility of achieving like results by the use of the same methods on man. Professor Haldane is on the side of the angels; according to him, most of the proposals for the improvement of the human stock by breeding methods are positively dangerous, though not, he would argue, because man is a spiritual being and cattle and fruit flies are not, but because man is a different animal from these others, and at present only very little is known of human genetics.

Sufficient is known, however, to refute effectively, as Professor Haldane does, all such crude doctrines as those of race purity, of the essential superiority of some races over others, and of the inadequate character of hybrid types. It is one of the oldest of established facts that the first hybrid generation tends to uniformity, but that in the second and subsequent generations there is high variability. Yet controversy over the desirability of racial mixing is

usually maintained without reference to such considerations as this.

The greatest hope for the application of genetics to ourselves at the present seems to lie in the field of "negative eugenics." Abnormalities of various kinds, such as hæmophilia, and certain forms of blindness and imbecility, are congenital. Because this is so, it has been argued that those afflicted with these diseases should be prevented from having children.

The inheritance of these diseases is, however, complex, and it is impossible in most cases to predict what the character of any one child of an abnormal parent may be. The child may be abnormal or more frequently it may be perfectly healthy. Sterilization would, in that event, deprive the community of potentially valuable citizens.

Nevertheless, with certain maladies, Professor Haldane thinks, segregation might be justifiable; sterilization is, in his view, dangerous, because it may involve death. He says:

I am not at all convinced that this principle of the sanctity of human life may not be of somewhat more importance for the State in the long run than a reduction in the number of defectives of certain kinds.

The book is not burdened with technicalities. It is eminently readable, and the author is always at pains to give due weight to every alternative. To the reviewer, the opinions expressed seem to be altogether sane and wholesome.

ROBERT BROWN.

AMERICA TODAY

U.S.A. By R. B. Mowat. Arrowsmith. (Modern States Series.) 3s. 6d.

The only sound basis upon which international peace can be founded is a complete international understanding. Mr. Mowat, who has an extensive experience of American life, has presented in this book a complete picture of the America of today; a picture given with the correct background of history.

The book commences with a useful table of dates of events impinging on American history from Queen Elizabeth's Charter to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 down to the present day. The earlier chapters deal with the colonization, constitution and incorporation of the various States which form the Union and the various influences which led up to the Declaration of Independence, and later to the American Civil War.

The later years of American history are naturally dealt with in a fuller manner, and the reader is shown how economic factors were mainly responsible for the breakdown in the policy of isolation and led to America's participation in the Great War. The reader is led through the boom periods succeeding the war to the slump which resulted from over-production and from the gold accumulated by reparations and which ultimately led to the inauguration of the "New Deal."

America's defection from the League of Nations, and her general air of aloofness to European affairs is explained, and the author speculates on the differences in world politics which might have resulted, if the Americans had given their wholehearted support to Woodrow Wilson's splendid ideal.

The book concludes with chapters on the cultural, social and economic sides of American development.

F. STROUDE.

SYMBOLIC TRAGEDY

TOLD BY AN IDIOT. A Tragedy in Three Acts. By Evelyn Kingswood. The Wessex Press. 2s. 6d.

Told by An Idiot is a play about a woman who murders her husband in order to prevent him from taking the sin of murder upon himself by joining the army. The play has a village in it, and village characters, including an idiot boy with a sinister laugh, and an elm tree that is cut down to make way for a war memorial.

Had Miss Kingswood been less occupied with the fact that she had decided to write what she calls a tragedy, had she taken her symbolism a little less ponderously, and had she drawn her calamity out of the twisted minds of her characters, instead of out of a moral idea, rather like a rabbit out of a hat, she might have made the theme interesting.

But perhaps it should be added that the play has a commendatory foreword by Geoffrey Whitworth, secretary of the British Drama League.

MORNA MACTAGGART.

BRIEFER NOTICES

AND WHO WANTS PEACE? By Eric Gill. James Clarke. 6d.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets edited by Donald Attwater under the auspices of the Roman Catholic pacifist society called Pax. As might be expected of anything in print with which Gill's name is associated, it is admirably produced, though it may be doubted whether this Armistice Day speech gains by having each sentence start a new line of type.

It is passionate rather than epigrammatic; a denunciation by a Christian and an artist of a world run by money, and of a form of struggle that has outgrown all dignity. Gill's hatred of modern mechanized war is nourished by, even if it is not born from, his hatred of industrialism.

DEAR SIR . . .



Van Zeeland Report

WE are being told that "it is of the utmost importance that members of the Peace Pledge Union should make themselves acquainted with the details of the Van Zeeland Report." I agree. But when we are further told that "the report should be supported on general grounds," I must express a voice of dissent unless that advice is much more qualified.

I can hardly agree that it is "the only alternative to rearmament which has yet appeared on the political horizon." What about the Russian proposals for total disarmament made to the Disarmament Conference in 1932, to quote one example?

Pacifists have been urging the need of a world conference to deal with the economic and political causes of war. Here comes a leading statesman also urging a world conference and having similar aims in view. It is a great temptation to hail him as a saviour.

Few people like to be continually members of a despised minority, year after year, and with the wish as father to the thought, we tend to rush to believe that at last the rulers of the world are beginning to see the error of their ways and seek an entry into the pacifist fold.

The careful study of the Van Zeeland Report, to which we are exhorted, will soon remove any such illusions. Superficially it seems almost too good to be true, but when one reads it carefully one finds that most of its proposals are hedged about by saving clauses which in practice might well defeat the ends aimed at. For example, not tariffs in general are to be abolished but only "excessive" tariffs, while provision is made for the retention of regulations against "dumping," &c. These, however, are minor points.

The fundamental criticisms to be levelled against it are, as I see it, three: 1. The recommendations of the report are aimed at the restoration, as far as possible, of world free trade, i.e., of laissez-faire capitalism. This ignores the fact that laissez-faire capitalism produced the World War and that it is impossible to return from the present stage of monopoly capitalism and State-capitalism to the old liberal conditions without taking over the capitalist system itself, i.e., ending it.

2. The report declares its aim to be the improvement of the welfare of the masses. Most pacifists will however, recognize that this can be effected in any considerable measure only by the establishment of a new social and economic order based on cooperation for the common good. The Van Zeeland Report merely seeks to oil the workings of the present economic order.

3. In its proposals concerning the colonial problem, the report advocates the international control of the present mandated areas, but would leave to the colonial Powers the possession of their colonies while insisting that they should share with others the opportunity of their economic exploitation. Not a word about the rights or welfare of the people occupying those territories! Apparently the white nations are to satisfy their rivalries by joint exploitation of their coloured brethren. Pacifism must stand for the complete liquidation of imperialism which is one of the major causes of war.

It would be unfair to point out the political deficiencies of the report, because, after all, M. Van Zeeland, was limited by his terms of reference to economic considerations. But the above criticisms should suffice to make pacifists

(Continued in Col. 2)

Peace Employment Bureaux

THE stark urgency of the home social problem and its challenge to us as pacifists have been brought vividly to my notice by a letter from an unemployed man, who, referring to my letter in PEACE NEWS of February 26 on the subject of an unemployment bureau, says, "May God bless you for your words of hope!"

He has to keep his wife and five children, besides pay rent and other expenses, on unemployment benefit of 38s. weekly. He is a hater of war and a keen reader of PEACE NEWS; but he would "certainly go again" in the event of another war, as his family would, he maintains, be better fed and clothed on the army allowance. And he adds:

"I'm certain there's thousands like me too, who all vowed, after the Great War, 'Never again'—and here we are to-day fighting a more determined enemy, poverty."

I get the other idea as well now and again when I look at my poor wife and kiddies and say, "God forbid it should happen." On the other hand, while we stand waiting outside the Labour Exchange men can be heard saying, "Oh, let it come tomorrow. We shall be a lot better off!"

We hear a lot about our freedom in this country, but I doubt very much whether

the people in the so-called dictator countries are any worse off than we are here.

This man's problem is ours. If he sees such hope in the mere idea of a peace employment bureau, let it not be an empty hope, like so many in this age of vain theories. Let our groups make it their business, their propaganda, to investigate the unemployment conditions in their areas and to point out all the constructive work that is waiting to be done.

We can only give people faith in our vision of peace by utmost efforts to organise and develop everyday work which accords with our vision, showing by living example that the way of peace is the only true solution for our agonized social problems.

The people are "like sheep having no shepherd." The sheer misery and futility of modern conditions is what is making them herd themselves under the numberless bogus sociologies which become the emotion-rousers for war. We must show, by organized constructive effort, that the way of peace is, in the long run, the only real alleviation. Let this be our memorial to "Dick."

E. J. W. TAPSELL.

Keld, Shap, Westmorland.

(Continued from Col. 1)

cautious in their attitude toward the report.

By all means let us welcome the fact that a leading European statesman has declared that the only hope for the world lies in the willingness of nations to meet round a conference table, to discuss their grievances, and to make mutual concessions with a view to easing one another's burdens. It is always better to negotiate than to fight.

But at the same time let us recognize clearly how far short of a pacifist solution are the measures recommended and urge continually the full implications of the pacifist faith.

HAROLD F. BING.

Ends and Means

Marjorie Hind might have been a "female slave" instead of a conqueror's wife relieved from drudgery had she lived in the olden times.

Unfortunately, today, men are still willing to go to war in order that they and their wives can be relieved from drudgery and become "refined and gentle."

War is murder, always was and always will be; to struggle against nature is an entirely different thing and does not need, nor result in, female or male slaves. But in conquering nature men find they have conquered themselves and, in the civilization they have created, become refined and gentle and peaceful.

JOHN PURSAILL.

The Dolmens,
Duston,
Northampton.

Penal Reform

May I suggest to those of your readers who are interested in Penal Reform that they inquire into the new Bill proposed by the Home Secretary and write to their local MP's asking them to support it.

A helpful pamphlet entitled *The Home Secretary's Opportunity* can be obtained for 2d. from Friends House, London.

A. GEO. WHITTAKER.

Wynthorpe,
Queens Road,
Sedgley, Staffordshire.

Bombers and Bombed

AFTER reading Wilfred Wellock's excellent articles (PEACE NEWS, Feb. 26) on Japan and the question of a boycott, I must confess I am left still uneasy.

Mr. Wellock is against a boycott of Japanese goods, for a number of apparently sound reasons. Yet the purchase of such goods directly helps Japan to bomb the Chinese and smash an ancient civilization. Are we to overlook this brutal fact because we may throw Japanese workers out of employment? Should we not be a little more concerned with the bombed than the bombers? Should we support a new imperialism in its violent stage merely because certain old imperialisms still exist?

And, further, if Mr. Wellock were a docker and a pacifist, would he help load a ship with scrap iron for Japan. Could he? I doubt it.

JOSEPH GORMAN.

26, Clements Road,
East Ham, E.6.

World-Birth

Out of the dozens of reviews of my book *World-Birth* (PEACE NEWS, February 12) I have selected that in your columns as an example of the way in which a book should be reviewed when the reviewer differs from the author—in this case "only" upon war. It is true that in this book I do "uphold at one and the same time both non-violent resistance and the notion of an 'international police force,'" as your reviewer says. But what am I to do?

If I interpret Jesus or the Buddha's teaching upon non-resistance to mean "non-resistance to evil in any circumstances," then I admit I am "in schism," if not "in heresy." But I wish your readers to face the facts.

To take these great teachers *au pied de la lettre*, it means that we must give up our local police forces, never resist the killing of ourselves or others, or violent attack upon the weak and helpless. I cannot subscribe to that.

I have fairly closely reasoned my idea of this international police force—yet am I ready at once to yield it if the above question can be satisfactorily answered and a substitute for physical strength found. Will not your readers try so to satisfy me? If they do, then I will have the successive editions of *World-Birth* altered accordingly—and will even try and give the Peace Pledge Union credit for my conversion!

SHAW DESMOND.

Leicester House,
Montpelier Row,
Twickenham, Middlesex.

Sterlingshire Territorial Army Association has decided to award 5s. to each man bringing in a recruit. The plan is to continue until further notice.

Revolutionary

SINCE pacifism is concerned with the whole range of human relationships from personal to international, it behoves all pacifists to study all political theories as a practice. It is with the practice and not with the theory of the British brand of communism that the pacifist is bound to disagree.

J. Middleton Murry in a recent article in PEACE NEWS said, "The pacifist is a terrible revolutionary. In comparison the communist is a very pale pink." The first of these two statements is true, because the idea of the laying down of arms naturally strikes terror into the hearts of those whose power and possessions are held mainly or solely by means of armed injustice.

The second statement, however, is not true. The communist is not a pale pink revolutionary. He is not a revolutionary at all. His method of violence, instead of changing or revolutionizing society, would inevitably fix it more firmly on the foundation of conflict and war upon which it now stands.

Hence it is pacifism and not communism which is the most revolutionary, and therefore the most important movement of modern times—probably of all time.

GEORGE GRAINGER.

103, Victoria Avenue,
Bloxwich, Walsall.

Pacifist Poems

May I draw the attention of your readers to the impending publication in France of the pacifist poems of the great French pacifist man of letters, Maurice Rostand, author of *Cyrano de Bergerac*?

His work is celebrated throughout the world, and such a selection of his poems makes good news of more than passing note.

The book, entitled *Il ne faut plus jamais*, is to be published by René Debresse, 38 rue de l'Université, Paris (7e), at the price of seven French francs. Knowledge of its existence is an invitation to translation.

LEONARD READ.

Basque House,
Langham, Colchester.

Our Responsibility

Discussing the question of blame for present-day world troubles, it does not appear to be so much the responsibility of the other man or nation as our own. It is not the big issues, but the actions and words (considered insignificant) upon which national and international understanding rests.

On each occasion that we, as individuals in and outside family life, fail to control our emotions of anger and hatred, withhold the appreciative smile, the helping hand, the self-denying hospitality which might mean so much to foreigner or kinsman in need or distress, when we withhold the common courtesies of everyday life, we subscribe to the omissions which create the problem of peace and war in family, national, and international life.

Repair these omissions and the principles of the PPU, together with the way of life for which it stands, will become an accomplished fact.

(Miss) L. R. MORGAN.

66 Bateman Road,
Chingford, E.4.

Results of the Pledge

As an early signatory of the peace pledge and a speaker for the PPU, may I be allowed to express myself on one or two points?

The wording of the peace pledge is so simple that most people can make up their minds whether to sign it or not very quickly. Many have signed it in purely an individual

(Continued on Page 14, Col. 1)

'... TOLD BY AN IDIOT'

An all too topical tragedy

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Signposts . . .

VICTORY BY WAR

1912. The Balkan States—Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria—formed a league against the Turkish Empire with the object of seizing and partitioning Macedonia.

They declared war and were successful on all fronts, over-running almost the whole of European Turkey.

leads to

MORE WAR

1913. The Bulgarians quarrelled with their allies about the partition of Macedonia. They were defeated in battle by a combination of Serbians, Greeks, and Rumanians. In the new division of spoils, Serbia gained so much that she aroused the jealousy of Austria, of which the ultimatum of 1914 was in part the result.

S. D. U.

. . . from History

LETTERS—continued

capacity to register their protest against war in any shape or form.

If the matter starts and ends there, to my mind the establishment of permanent peace in the world will be delayed for a very long time. Does not the signing of the pledge involve on the part of each signatory a definite urge to get more and more people to sign the pledge and to work for the cause?

Group study circles are excellent, but the need for the missionary spirit is, to my way of thinking, more important, and for local groups to study week by week in their own limited spheres leaves something remaining to be done.

The PPU must ultimately seek to give effect to its beliefs through the High Court of Parliament. That is the only way to get an official foreign policy based on our fundamentals placed before the world at large.

Signatories must not lose sight of collateral and subsidiary matters such as the tackling of the problem of poverty and slums and the security of tenure for the masses of the people.

Is it any good talking peace to the mother of a large family in a slum striving to keep body and soul together, when the only peace possible for her to get is that brought by death?

These problems must be tackled, they are "cogs" in the "machine" of peace. In short it is not enough simply to sign the peace pledge.

T. EGERT DALE.

St. Clair, Blenheim Road,
Bickley, Kent.

STUDY COURSE
IN PSYCHOLOGY

RECENT letters in PEACE NEWS suggesting the formation of a body for the study of psychology have led Mr. J. Gilbert Powell, a North London reader, to send a copy of a syllabus now being used by a study group he started at Bowes Park Methodist Church.

The syllabus is divided into three sections:

1. The psychology of personal relations;
2. The psychology and philosophy of national relationships; and
3. Philosophy of international peace.

The first section is divided as follows:

(a) PERSONAL PROBLEMS

The problem of the self: Three primal instincts; sex and self; world war and the infant mind; toy soldiers; family failings; jealousy; greed; complexes.

The problem of fear: Friend or foe? Is it natural?—helpful? Cruelty; cowardice; distrust (ruthless dictators); "Reign of Terror"; disarmament; gas masks; production of panic.

(b) PUBLIC PROBLEMS

Aggressiveness: Aggressiveness and acquisitiveness; the selfish baby; greed; gambling; lust for power; colonies; capitalism; Dr. William Brown; eliminative fixatives; murder.

Defence: How far is self-defence justifiable? Woman not the weaker sex; spiteful girls; bully boys; mediaeval chivalry; guerilla warfare; modern warfare; power of non-violence (see Richard B. Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*, Routledge, 5s.).

Books recommended as providing a helpful background to study are:—

An A.B.C. of Psychology, by the Rev. Eric S. Waterhouse (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.).

War Dance: A Study in the Psychology of War, by E. Graham Howe. (Faber and Faber, 7s. 6d.).

War, Sadism, and Pacifism, by Edward Glover. (Allen and Unwin, 3s. 6d.).

The second and third sections of the syllabus will be given in later issues of PEACE NEWS.

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Colonial Claims

NATIVE RIGHTS
URGED

The following letter on the question of transfer of colonial territories has been sent by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to the Prime Minister:—

THE possibility of proposals being under consideration for transferring certain colonial territories is our justification for appealing to you upon a matter of high moral principle and of practical statesmanship, namely, the position of the inhabitants of such territories.

For many years our committee has maintained that transfers of colonial territory occupied mainly by native races should only be carried through after taking into consideration the wishes of the inhabitants (these being ascertained as far as possible by an impartial inquiry) and the probable effects of the change upon their future welfare.

Our committee urged this view at the end of the Great War and also when the question arose in reference to the High Commission Territories of South Africa. In this connexion, we beg to draw attention to the views of the Dominions Office and of General Hertzog with regard to the proposed transfer of the High Commission Territories. The Prime Minister of the Union Territories of South Africa has stated "we are not prepared to incorporate in the Union any Territory unless the inhabitants of the Territory are prepared to come in."

The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 9, 1937), and later the Marquess of Hartington, November 9, 1937, have laid down that transfer of the High Commission Territories must be conditional upon the "full acquiescence" of the inhabitants. We are glad to note that both General Hertzog and Mr. MacDonald have adopted a principle in colonial policy which our society has advocated for many years, and which we trust may be adopted when any matter affecting the transfer of colonial territories to a foreign Power is under consideration.

In the opinion of those who have experience of native questions, a recognized method of ascertaining the views of the inhabitants would be by an impartial international commission, whose duty it would be to consult local legislative (or representative) bodies, Pitso, or other recognized forms of native assembly, and such organs of opinion or such persons as might be considered as representative of opinion.

We desire to emphasize three main features:—

(a) Nearly every Dependency territory concerned was transferred to overseas "protection" by written contract after consultation with the indigenous authorities. The following are relevant examples:—

(i) Basutoland and Bechuanaland by definite official engagements.

(ii) The Congo area under the Treaty of St. Germain is held, according to the "Declarations" of the Berlin Act of 1885, "in virtue of the treaties concluded with the legitimate sovereigns, in the basins of the Congo and Niadi Kwilu and in the territories bordering on the Atlantic..." and

(iii) German East Africa by Twelve Treaties, and so forth.

(b) Within the last 25 years, education, means of transport, and distribution of news have advanced so rapidly that native peoples are now widely informed and articulate upon their own affairs, so that their opinions are more than ever worthy of consideration.

(c) In most territories the future of which has been discussed, there are one or more representative native bodies which should not be ignored in any decision as to the future of the territories they administer and the destinies of the people entrusted to them.

(d) As in this letter we are concerned only with the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, it would be out of place to comment at length upon any general solution of what is called the colonial problem, but in our opinion, it may be possible to devise a form of international control by expanding some of the provisions contemplated in existing systems, such as the mandatory system or the Convention of St. Germain.

In the event of any conference being summoned for the working out of such a colonial scheme, we urge that one or more advisers to such a conference should be drawn from the ranks of the more advanced peoples of the territories concerned.

Further, we most earnestly oppose the view that the prime motive of colonial expansion should be the exploitation of material benefits in the interests of the metropolitan government and the establishment of redundant white populations in tropical areas quite unsuited for white settlement.

Diary of the Week

March

12 (Sat.) GLASGOW; 2.30 and 6 p.m. The McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street; Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P., Lord Ponsonby, Miss Mary Gamble, Rev. Jas. Barr, M.P., Rev. A. C. Craig, Dr. R. H. Thouless, C. H. Wilson, M.P., and James H. Hudson; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

EARLSFIELD; 3.15 and 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, 661 Garratt Lane; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; admission 6d.; PPU.

HIGHGATE; 6 p.m. Archway Central Hall; annual meeting of North London Council; For.

13 (Sun.) EDMONTON; 6.30 p.m. Independent Church, near Town Hall; Rev. E. J. Keely Wright; PPU.

LONDON, S.E.; 7 p.m. Oliver Goldsmith School, Peckham Road; Lewis Silkin, M.P., on "Is there a road to Peace?" South London Ethical Society.

HALIFAX; 3 p.m. Harrison Road. Congregational Sunday School; debate; Rev. H. John McLachlan John A. Plant (PPU), opposed by LNU and Youth Group Speakers; PPU.

14 (Mon.) NORWICH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Pottergate; annual meeting; Roy Walker; Norwich PPU group.

15 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20-2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. D. A. Crow on "The Pacifist Faith of a Surgeon"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

ELTHAM; 7.30 p.m. Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Road; film show of *Kameradschaft*; PPU.

RUNCORN; 7.45 p.m. Cooperative Café; Canon Stuart Morris, Wilfred Wellock, and T. Clare (chairman); PPU.

16 (Wed.) CLEVELAYS PARK (Blackpool); 7.30 p.m. Methodist Church; Rev. Norman Castles, Coun. A. L. Schofield, Mrs. A. C. Ashton, and A. C. Bessant (chairman); PPU.

EAST GRINSTEAD; 7.30 p.m. Civic Arts Hall; 3 Plays by East Grinstead Pax Players including "The Pen is Mightier"; Admission 6d. to 2s. 4d.

HIGH WYCOMBE; 7.45 p.m. Town Hall; Lord Arnold, Ruth Fry, Eric Gill, Wilfred Wellock, and Rev. S. H. Reader (chairman); PPU.

MANCHESTER; 7.45 p.m. Houldsworth Hall; Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, Miss E. Thorneycroft, and Max Plowman (chairman); admission free; reserved tickets (1s. and 6d.) from Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street.

WESTMINSTER; 8 p.m. Victoria Methodist Hall, 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; annual meeting; Westminster PPU group.

WIMBLEDON; 8 p.m. St. Mark's Hall, Compton Road; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; PPU.

WINCHMORE HILL; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Church Hill; Mr. Liang on "The Present Position in the East"; Mrs. Rattenbury (chairman); For.

17 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Dr. Alex Wood on "Economic Appeasement"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Miss Bothamley on "Germany and Peace"; City PPU group.

17, 18, and 19 (Thurs., Fri., and Sat.) LEIGH-ON-SEA; 8 p.m. Pall Mall Congregational Church; four-act play, *The Enemy*; admission 1s. and 2s., from 56 Blenheim Crescent, Leigh-on-Sea; Society of Friends and For.

18 (Fri.) BRISTOL; 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Old Market Street; Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, Mr. H. Runham Brown, Miss E. Thorneycroft, B.A., Canon Stuart Morris (chairman); Admission by ticket; PPU.

WESTMINSTER; 8.15 p.m. Caxton Hall; Dr. Har Dayal on "Mr. Aldous Huxley's book *Ends and Means*; Modern Culture Institute.

19 (Sat.) BANGOR; 2.30 p.m. Central School, Deiniol Road; North Wales conference; John Barclay; PPU.

BRISTOL; 2.45 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street; Delegates Conference; "The Crisis and the Future of British Foreign Policy. Delegates fee 6d., Credentials from W. J. Parkin, 1 West Croft, Herleaze, Bristol; Bristol Peace Council.

IPSWICH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Miss Ruth Fry; PPU.

STOCKWELL; 3 p.m. Underground Station; meet for poster parade advertising film show (Mar. 29, Brixton Hill Methodist Church Hall). Brixton and Stockwell PPU; volunteers write Brian L. Rickett, 56 Durand Gardens, S.W.9.

NORTHAMPTON; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; Annual Meeting; PPU.

BANGOR; 7 p.m. Central School, Deiniol Road; Lady Artemus Jones (chairman); Hywel D. Lewis, and John Barclay; PPU.

Coming Shortly.

March

21 (Mon.) LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. University College; foundation debate; George Lansbury, Sir Terence O'Connor, and Sir Stafford Cripps (chairman); Union Society.

23 (Wed.) READING; 7.45 p.m. Large Town Hall; Dr. Alex Wood, and J. Richard C. Symonds; PPU.

27 (Sun.) WATFORD; 3 p.m. New Regal Cinema, King Street; Donald O. Soper, Miss Ruth Fry, John Barclay, Herbert Seed, and L. C. Johnson (chairman); PPU.

May

19 (Thurs.) NORWICH; 8 p.m. Stuart Hall; Bertrand Russell; PPU.

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LECTURES

MODERN CULTURE INSTITUTE. Dr. Har Dayal will speak on Friday, March 18, at 8.15 p.m., at Caxton Hall on Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*. Free

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD, Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

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Parliamentary Notes

By Our Lobby Correspondent

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S description of his own armed preparations as a terrifying spectacle for the sobering and steady of world opinion, made me think of a sinister hawk whose awesome presence silences all other birds in his vicinity.

We might leave it at that, if it were not that human beings decline to classify themselves into hawks and sparrows.

I marvel that the Prime Minister learns nothing from the speeches of a man like General Goering. When Goering boasts of his mighty German air force, does that "sober and steady" world opinion?

Is not precisely the opposite true; that the more men vaunt themselves in their coercive power, the more their neighbours withdraw themselves from their legitimate and peaceful occupations, and prepare to meet force with force, steel with steel, blood with blood?

And as it is so with Goering, so will it be with Chamberlain. Truly, a terrifying picture!

Perhaps the most curious thing in the defence debate was Mr. Churchill's speech. It was as alarmist as usual.

How little he, too, learns from experience! He, more than any man, prodded the British Government into its great arms programme by his stories of German preparedness in the air.

Has our armament done anything to stop the German intimidation? Apparently not, for he told the House that Germany had now 3,000 first-line 'planes to our 1,500.

To Mr. Chamberlain the spectacle of our might is literally terrifying. But Mr. Churchill doesn't think it is terrifying enough. He can at least agree with the pacifists that we haven't so far won much security for all our pains.

Mr. Lansbury did not speak for long. In refutation of Mr. Churchill, he reminded the House that we are reaping what we have sown.

Youth must refuse to follow the false prophets who hold that by piling up armaments we could secure peace. Mr. Lansbury's speech was so important for pacifists, that I greatly regret I can refer only to short extracts from it.

The following should be heard on all our platforms:

If this House, for one afternoon, would devote itself to considering the condition of Europe, it would see at once that the root of the problem was the inability of the people to get their daily bread. They are starving today as a result of war and what we called "the Peace." You cannot hope even to begin to settle that by piling up armaments and preparing for war.

Last year the King of the Belgians implored the nations to take that question in hand. If you had started then, by now you would have done something to turn men's minds away from the folly of thinking that only another Armageddon will see them through.

The Government asks for peace. The Labour Party does the same. Yet all of them know they are piling up preparations for war and taking no steps to remove the causes of war.

When once the people realize how they are being deceived, you will have short shrift indeed. None of you now dare make a speech unless you describe your policy as one of peace, and yet here in this House you speak only of the possibility and the probability of war.

It was a great day for the Peace Pledge Union to have its manifesto read in full in the House of Commons by Mr. Lansbury.

It was listened to in an ominous quiet. None ventured to reply to it. Sir Thomas Inskip quoted with approval one or two passages in it.

The press has ignored it. Yet there it stands in *Hansard*—the unanswered challenge.

It will be for the Editor in other columns and other issues to bring to the notice of PEACE NEWS readers the tremendous new opportunity that has come to us. I hope none of us fail; for certainly George Lansbury did not fail.

"You may jeer at Dick Sheppard's movement," said Mr. Lansbury, "but it will grow by leaps and bounds when the country at last realizes that this House acts on the belief that it must prepare

Is the Work of Pacifists Bearing Fruit?

WILFRED WELLOCK ON SIGNS OF A CHANGE IN LABOUR POLICY

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

SOMETHING has happened to the Labour Party and the *Daily Herald*. Just what I do not know.

Have they realized that the hatred and fear of fascism which has possessed a number of labour leaders is heading for war, and that should a general election occur, they would not be able to escape the charge of pursuing a war policy, since the collective security on which they are staking almost everything, is nothing more than a military alliance against fascism?

Whatever be the explanation, this is what has happened. In *Forward* for last week (March 5), Herbert Morrison offers this warning:

One of the things it (the Labour Party) must be careful about is its choice of language, particularly with a view to avoiding the totally false impression that the Labour Party is thirsting for a needless war with one or other of the fascist States.

That statement was written on the eve of a week's Peace and Security Campaign upon which the Labour Party embarked on Monday.

In connexion with that campaign, Herbert Morrison has also said this:

Unlike the Labour Party, the Government is unwilling to face those questions of economic justice for all nations which are vital to a real international settlement.

It is extremely significant that in inaugurating that campaign, in its issue of March 4, the *Daily Herald* enlarged upon that statement of Morrison's in a full column leader, in the course of which it denounced the Government's policy "of sitting tight upon the enormous colonial areas conquered by British force of arms in the past, keeping other nations out of them by imperial-tariff walls..." which policy, it continued:

provokes the Japanese to ask, when we object to their occupation of Manchuria, just what we think we are doing in Hong Kong; or the Italians to ask, when we mention Abyssinia, just how it comes about that we are in Kenya.

If there is a good answer to this taunt except by freely declaring our willingness to renounce our privileges and share the benefits of colonies with all law-abiding nations, we do not know what it is.

That statement was followed up next day by a front-page article by the Editor, Francis Williams, in the course of which he said:

Labour believes that world peace is possible, peace based on international justice and international law, peace which will offer to all nations the opportunity of steady and consistent improvement in the conditions of their people.

The article concluded as follows: And with their (the British people's) sup-

for an inevitable war which will destroy civilization."

Actually, the House did not jeer. It was too much abashed to attempt it.

With the exception of Mrs. Hardie, all the M.P.s who belong to the Parliamentary Pacifist Group abstained from voting for the Labour Party's amendment, which called for a policy of collective security.

Sir Stafford Cripps told the Conference of the new Labour League of Youth that the expansion of the Franco-Soviet pact as forming the basis of a block of peaceful (!) Powers in Europe was part of the Labour Party policy.

This is the guise under which the discredited policy of collective security now presents itself.

Even if these so-called military blocks could ever defend anything, which we, of course, deny, who is to say which way the Russian "steam-roller" will move in the next war?

Sir Stafford, no doubt, would like it to move as he wants, rather than what fascism wants.

The revelations of a few more treason trials may even yet shake the childlike faith of Sir Stafford.

In any case, it is freely rumoured in the lobbies that M. Maisky is looking for a permanent job—in England. Before long, even if there's a steam-roller, there will be nobody to drive it.

port, it (Labour's policy) can be made the basis for such a movement of realist world appeasement as will banish altogether the threat of war from our homes.

That is the purpose of this campaign. That is why you are asked to join in it.

Both these articles concern themselves solely with constructive peace policy, and contain no reference whatever to collective security, rearmament, or war preparation. Indeed, except for one or two phrases, they might almost have been written by the PPU.

I am bound to believe that this most remarkable and welcome change of front is deliberate. How far the *Daily Herald*, in making it, is expressing a change of mind in the official labour movement, remains to be seen. But I regard it as one of the most significant things that have happened for a long time, and am convinced that we should do everything in our power to stimulate this most encouraging turn of events.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

To supplement the unceasing work of pacifists which now appears to be bearing fruit, and to bring more clearly to the notice of the press where most pacifists stood in the recent crisis, we sent to the Editor of the "Daily Herald" on February 24 an advance copy of PEACE NEWS for February 26. On February 26 the "Daily Herald" carried a leading article which already indicated a change such as Wilfred Wellock draws attention to above.—Ed.

The Liberal Party's policy was indicated by the following amendment to the Prime Minister's motion on defence which was debated in Parliament on Monday:—

This House, while recognizing the present necessity for an expansion in British armaments, declares that peace can only be preserved and adequate protection afforded to the world-wide interests of Great Britain without imposing an intolerable strain on the finances of this country if his Majesty's Government will pursue a policy of collective security and collective justice including redress of national grievances and the removal of the political and economic causes of war, in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations, and regrets that the White Paper on Defence contains no assurances that the measures recommended in the report of the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of Arms for insuring economy in expenditure on armaments and taking profit out of war have been carried out.

PARS for the PLATFORM

War Budget

FOLLOWING are the totals of the net Estimates for the Fighting Services issued last week, together with increases over the net Estimates for 1937:

	Total	Increase
Navy	£93,707,000	£15,642,000
Army	£85,357,000	£22,237,000
Air Force	£73,500,000	£17,000,000

The Real Figures

THESE figures do not represent all our expenditure on the Fighting Services. In addition to the sums shown, the Forces will be receiving issues from the Consolidated Fund under the Defence Loans Act.

To arrive at the total expenditure the following figures, showing the amounts provided in this way in 1937 and to be provided for 1938, should be added to the figures shown above:—

	1938.	1937.
Navy	£30,000,000	£27,000,000
Army	£21,143,000	(No provision made, but £19,054,000 granted)
Air Force	£30,000,000	£26,000,000

An Unknown Total

EVEN with this addition, in the case of the Navy Estimates, the final total remains unknown.

A statement accompanying the Navy Estimates declares that it contains nothing on account of the new construction programme for 1938, details of which are contained in another White Paper. A Supplementary Estimate will be presented in due course for so much of the work on that programme as will fall to be carried out in the forthcoming financial year.

Items that Cost More

IN the Naval Estimates the largest single increase recorded is in the figure for "Shipbuilding, repairs, maintenance, &c." In 1937 the net Estimate

Another Pacifist Peer Leaves Labour Party

DISAGREEMENT with the Labour Party's foreign policy has led Lord Sanderson to resign from the Labour Party.

A statement announcing his decision declared:—

He cannot work for a party whose foreign policy involves so much hatred of other Powers, which is prepared to go to war on behalf of collective security (whatever that may mean), and whose attainment of office he would, therefore, regard as a menace to the peace of the world.

Lady Sanderson has also resigned her membership of the party.

He is the second pacifist peer to leave the Labour Party within the past fortnight. Lord Arnold resigned only last week, also due to disagreement over foreign policy.

Lord Sanderson, who became a peer in 1930 left the Parliamentary Executive in May 1936, because of disagreement with its foreign policy. He has been an active worker in the labour movement for many years.

TO SET THE WEST ALIGHT

From Our Own Correspondent

Further efforts "to set the West alight in the cause of peace" were discussed at a successful conference held at Newton Abbot last Saturday, when 45 delegates attended, representing twenty towns and villages of Devon.

One of the chief features of the conference was the decision to form a Regional Committee. Mr. E. C. Maddox was elected area organizer, and group secretaries were asked to form the committee, which will elect its own officials.

The conference was presided over by Mr. A. W. Waddington, and was addressed by John Barclay, who spoke particularly of the Pacifist Manifesto and the forthcoming crusade.

Plans for future activities were discussed, and will include poster parades and a caravan campaign, the latter to be organized from the area committee. The evening ended with social items.

Copies of a group photograph taken during the conference can be obtained from Mr. Maddox, 39, Manor Road, Newton Abbot, price 6d., plus 1½d. postage.

for this was £32,124,600; this year it is £40,881,100. The item headed "Naval armaments" has increased from £7,769,700 to £10,392,000.

"Warlike stores" provides the greatest individual increase in the Army Estimates, having jumped £11,362,000 to £27,242,000.

War Office Research

THE War Minister's Memorandum accompanying the Army Estimates declared, in one passage:

The ever-increasing complexity of modern methods of warfare combined with the special demands of the Defence Programme have presented difficult and urgent tasks to the military research and experimental establishments, and the past year has been one of intensive work in all fields, the workers in which, whether members of the War Office staffs or eminent scientists whose advice has been at our disposal, have made notable contributions to the solution of many problems.

A Comparison

THE memorandum also gives the following figures showing the total of Army Estimates since 1922:

1922	..	..	£62,300,000
1923	..	..	£82,000,000
1924	..	..	£45,000,000
1925	..	..	£44,500,000
1926	..	..	£42,500,000
1927	..	..	£41,565,000
1928	..	..	£41,050,000
1929	..	..	£40,545,000
1930	..	..	£40,500,000
1931	..	..	£39,230,000
1932	..	..	£36,488,000
1933	..	..	£37,950,000
1934	£39,600,000
1935	£43,550,000
1936	£55,881,000
1937	£63,120,000
1938	£85,357,000

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PACIFISM AS A POLITICAL ISSUE

"People's Peace Front" Formed

Special to PEACE NEWS

A People's Peace Front, which aims to present pacifism to voters as a practical policy, was formed at a meeting of London pacifists held on Saturday. Membership will be open to all, whether members of existing parties and other bodies or not, who support the following two points as the basis of its policy:—

1. Complete universal disarmament and opposition to increases in armaments; and
2. Exploring every avenue leading to international appeasement and co-operation.

Members will not be required to take a personal pledge of war resistance.

Those present at Saturday's meeting were aware of the need of a basis for membership which would include, for example, both Christian Pacifist Party supporters and those unable to accept the term "Christian."

The secretary of the People's Peace Front told PEACE NEWS that he was in touch with pacifists in other parts of the country who, he hoped, would shortly become members.

AN ALTERNATIVE FOR VOTERS

"Our aim," he said, "is to provide the electorate with an alternative to the present choice of two or three candidates, all of whom stand for peace through war."

"With a policy drawn up on the simple two points we have adopted we should be able to give these people a chance to express their desire for a real peace policy."

"We have put first things first because the war danger overshadows all other questions at present, and the People's Peace Front will be a rallying-point on this issue."

A further meeting for members and others interested, at which both domestic and foreign policy will be discussed, will be held in London early in April. The date and place will be announced soon.

Correspondence regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary of the People's Peace Front, 18, Brunswick Square, London, W.C.1.

A League of Pacifist Esperantists

Founded a year ago last week, the Pacifist Esperanto League now has 32 members throughout Great Britain. Ten of them are delegates for towns.

The report for the first year of its existence reveals that 12,000 of its own leaflets, many thousand leaflets of the British Esperanto Association, and a few thousand leaflets from pacifist and other organizations have been distributed.

A number of members will be taking part in the World Esperanto Congress in London this year, at which a meeting for pacifists has already been arranged by the Friends' Esperanto Society, with which the Pacifist League has begun to cooperate. It is hoped at the congress to increase the number of foreign contacts already made by the League.

The secretary of the League is Mr. W. J. Brigden, 232, Sellincourt Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17.

Pacifist Publications Abroad

Two thousand copies are regularly distributed by Finnish peace workers of a paper entitled *Sodan-Vastustaja* (the War Resister).

Aldous Huxley's pacifist booklet, *What Are You Going To Do About It?* has been published in Danish and Czech editions.

A model of the famous Peace Garden established on the boundary between Manitoba and Minnesota will be shown at the British Empire Exhibition in Glasgow this summer.

Manchester's Peace Conference

Invitations have been mailed to more than 400 societies of various kinds over a large area in connexion with a conference which the South Manchester Peace Council is holding in the Burlington Café Ballroom (opposite the University) at 2.45 p.m. to-day (Saturday).

The basis of the conference is the National Peace Council Charter for Peace and Social Justice. This will be outlined by Mr. E. R. Reynolds, of London, while various aspects will be dealt with by Mr. P. M. Oliver and the Rev. Stanley Mossop.

Canon T. Shimwell, president of South Manchester Peace Council, will be in the chair.

The Secretary of South Manchester Peace Council said to PEACE NEWS:

It should not be forgotten that the Van Zeeland Report makes many of the recommendations which are embodied in this charter, and therefore a moral responsibility lies on the Government to give it its deepest consideration.

Particulars of the conference can be had from Mrs. O. Cherry, Flat 5, 9, Conyngham Road, Manchester, 14.

Saying It With Flowers

As Spring is in the air, the peace shop opened by Norbury Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation in the main road, is a daffodil shop.

It is devised entirely in daffodil yellow and at the back of the shop the sun shines on a bank of real daffodils under a real tree! The scene is labelled, "Peace To Earth."

A large yellow flag inscribed "PPU" and a long banner make the shop the sensation of its particular part of the road from London to Brighton.

Southampton Rally

Twelve out of the thirteen groups of the PPU in North-East Hampshire were represented at the second regional rally held at Southampton on Sunday. Some of them came thirty or forty miles to attend.

Mr. John Barclay, National Group Organizer, discussed PPU policy with members in the afternoon, and in the early evening led a poster parade—thirty strong—for Southampton Common, where an open-air meeting was held. Back in the town again a public meeting was held, when Mr. Barclay was again the speaker.

Teachers' P.P.U. Group

About 150 names have been received of school teachers willing to join the Teachers' Group within the PPU.

The group will not attempt to draw up any scheme of intensive pacifist propaganda for schools. It will aim first to clarify the individual position of teachers, and then, by confidential discussion, to decide how teachers can best serve the cause of peace.

Group leaders who have not sent names and addresses of teachers in their groups willing to join should send them immediately to A. Bernard Hadley, 40 Oak Hill Gardens, Woodford Green, Essex.

DON'T KILL PEOPLE on the Road— Join the Army or Navy

ACCUSED of driving away a motor van without the owner's consent, without having a licence, and without having an insurance policy, a seventeen-year-old youth of Sutton Coldfield, near Birmingham, was told last Saturday that he "must join the army or navy or be sentenced."

The magistrate, Alderman Pearson, commented: "Suppose he had run over someone? He must join the army or the navy in a week, otherwise he will be sentenced next week."

Mrs. Gilby, the youth's mother, still looking worried and upset, chatted with a PEACE NEWS correspondent about the case.

"I intervened at the end when I heard them say something about him going in the navy," she told me, "and pleaded with the magistrates to give my boy another chance, but was told, 'No, that is definite.'"

She went on: "I have one son in the army—now this one, soon I shall have no one left."

Mrs. Gilby added that it was too late now to do anything as her son leaves this week, having joined up rather than bring disgrace on his home by the possible prison sentence which hung over him.

From all parts of the country letters have been coming to this mother expressing sympathy.

Active in Oxford University

ALTHOUGH strict regulations prevent Oxford University members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from joining in any activities with FoR members in the city itself, the university group numbers some forty members.

A study group held each week is led by Dr. C. J. Cadoux, the well-known author of books on pacifism.

Members of the FoR and all other pacifists in the university are looking forward to George Lansbury's visit at the end of this term. Plans already made will insure that the Town Hall is crowded to welcome him to Oxford. The University FoR group operates within the Oxford University Pacifist Association.

Pacifist Session at Congregational Annual Meetings

During the annual meetings of the Congregational Church, to be held in May, there will be a pacifist session at which the Rev. William Dick, of Poplar, will present the Christian pacifist case.

Due to the interchange of membership with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the addition of the Carrs Lane Pacifist Group, the Congregational Peace Crusade can now report a membership of 1,075, compared with 451 a year ago.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

STOP PRESS

Move to Enrol Scouts in A.R.P.

"FOSTERING MILITARY SPIRIT"

Special to PEACE NEWS

THE action of the executive body of Manchester Boy Scouts' Association in undertaking to provide a messenger service under the local ARP scheme continues to form the subject of comment in the movement.

It will be recalled that the association issued an invitation to those in the movement over eighteen to undertake such duties as wardens or auxiliary firemen "If they do not fancy the Territorial Army."

Opposition to the circular was voiced in a letter from a Manchester Scoutmaster published in the *Manchester Guardian*. "With such official blessing," he wrote, "the military spirit is being fostered in a boys' organization notable for its international peace outlook."

The letter added:—

One can visualise the effect that training in this type of work will have upon the mind of a youth and the gradual poisoning of his outlook which must ensue.

Surely, if we believe that we ought to "be prepared" we have no right to ask the young people of our nation to offer their lives and minds to further a policy in the formation of which they have had no say.

It is significant that the Scout movement in Manchester was committed to helping in the official scheme by the executive and not by the local association, thus preventing any expression of Scoutmasters' views upon the subject.

It is also being pointed out that by suggesting air raid services for those who "do not fancy the Territorial Army" the association's circular draws a parallel between army service and ARP—although the latter are always held to be non-military.

(Pacifists in the Scout movement are invited to get in touch with John Barclay, of the Peace Pledge Union, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1.)

MORE BAPTIST PACIFISTS

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship expects to hold its annual meeting on April 26. This will be during the week of the Baptist Union Assembly.

The Fellowship has received 21 new members during the past two months, and the total membership now stands at 643.

The secretary is the Rev. W. H. Haden, 132, Scalpcliffe Road, Burton-on-Trent.